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ABSTRACT

Presented in this volume are selected convention papers on topics in teaching English as a second language (ESL). Topics include literacy vs. literate skills; ESL development among preschool children in Singapore; language proficiency and comprehension of anaphoric subject pronouns in bilingual and monolingual children; the ESL noise test and cultural differences in affect and performance; affect in the communicative classroom; the development and influence of assimilative motivation; communicative value and information processing in second language acquisition; conditions on interlingual semantic transfer; diary studies and participant observation differences; effective instructional methods; reconciliation of traditional and communicative approaches; a psycholinguistic model of the Chinese ESL reader; ESL curriculum innovation and teachers' attitudes; a functional ESL syllabus in Papua New Guinea; practical applications of the intensive method; evaluating an elementary school program; content area instruction for elementary school ESL students; designing a minicourse for nonnative speakers of English in a chemistry lab course; using computers to teach composition; ESL reading skills instruction; listening activities for small groups; intensive English in traditional academic settings; effective ESL program administration; nonnative teacher preparation; training foreign teaching assistants; and local acceptability in selecting an ESL teaching model. (MSE)

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ON TESOL '84

A BRAVE NEW WORLD FOR TESOL

Edited by

Penny Larson
Elliot L. Judd
Dorothy S. Messerschmitt

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

FL016 005

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ON TESOL '84

A BRAVE NEW WORLD
FOR TESOL

Selected papers from the Eighteenth Annual
Convention of Teachers of English to
Speakers of Other Languages, Houston, Texas
March 6-11, 1984

Edited by

Penny Larson
Elliot L. Judd
Dorothy S. Messerschmitt

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ON TESOL '84

A
BRAVE NEW WORLD
FOR TESOL

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PREFACE

Every year TESOLers from around the world gather together for a week to celebrate their profession. Houston, the fourth largest city in the United States and one of its fastest growing, played host to the 18th annual TESOL convention in March of 1984. More than 3500 participants traveled from 45 countries to join their colleagues to catch up on the year's activities, to follow up on past discussions and to listen to new ideas, methods and theories.

The Convention Program Book details the approximately 725 presentations selected from more than 1200 proposals received, as well as the Academic Sessions of the Interest Sections, the publishers sessions and the many other sessions reflecting TESOL's organizational concerns. As TESOL is an organization made up of people with a wide variety of interests and concerns, the scope of the program was designed to reflect these many interests and responsibilities of the participants – from the preschool teacher to the university professor, from the most practical idea for a classroom to the most theoretical idea for discussion, from the EFL teacher in Asia or Europe to the bilingual teacher in North America. There was a serious effort to increase the participation of public school teachers, of those involved with adult immigrants and refugees and of those involved in computer assisted instruction.

This volume is a selection of the papers given at the convention. The articles were chosen to reflect as much of the program as possible. For those who attended the TESOL '84 Convention this collection will serve as a reminder of the week; for those who were unable to attend as an update. For students, teachers and teacher trainers, theorists and practitioners, it is meant to reflect the current thinking in March 1984.

On TESOL '84 begins with the convention's final plenary address by Thomas Scovel who had been asked to "pull the week together" and talk about some directions for TESOL and its members. He chose as his title "A Brave New World

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For TESOL", one we have chosen to use as the subtitle for this volume. As the people of Houston must be concerned with by-products of their city's too rapid growth, so too is Scovel concerned with some of the results of the TESOL profession's very rapid growth: a dissolution of goals due to competition between ESL and EFL needs, a disintegration of classroom practices due to conflicting claims by methodologists, and a dissection of language acquisition into an increasingly larger number of variables by researchers. Scovel's disquiet with this diversity is followed by attempts to illustrate and to underscore the utility of a holistic approach to the apparent dissolution of our field. The challenge he leaves us with is applicable to TESOL as a profession and as an organization. Challenges and changes, large or small, must be met without losing sight of the goals.

The four other sections of the book discuss topics overlapping Scovel's concerns: Research, Methods and Philosophies, Approaches and Techniques and Professional Concerns. Each paper included in these categories is summarized in greater detail in the introductory remarks which precede each of the sections.

And finally, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all of the contributors to *ON TESOL '84*, and to all participants in the TESOL convention 1984.

Penny Larson, Elliot L. Judd and Dorothy S. Messerschmitt
San Francisco and Chicago
December, 1984

PART I
AN OVERVIEW

A BRAVE NEW WORLD FOR TESOL

Thomas Scovel
San Francisco State University

> "Oh wonder! How goodly creatures are there here! How beauteous mankind is! Oh brave new world, that has such people in it!"
>
> Miranda, from *The Tempest*

From the outset, I want to devote my special attention to those who are relatively new to the field of TESOL. I am not so naive as to expect a plethora of Mirandas among you, but I do hope you already sense the vibrant spirit of our organization. I also hope you have already become personally acquainted with some of the marvelous people who make each regional or annual convention a colorful marketplace of ideas and individuals. From the towering talents of a Henry Widdowson to the ebulliant energy of a Carole Urzua, you will find Texas-size hearts and ten-gallon intellects. This is no Camelot however; our organization and our profession have grown at a rate which rivals Houston's, and as I look back on the last decade or two, I see problems emerging–problems which are potentially insidious for the newcomer. There has been an overly enthusiastic dissection of language acquisition by many scalpel-wielding researchers; there has been a disintegration of classroom practices, precipitated in large measure by conflicting methods; and there has been a dissolution of our once common goals by the supposedly competing needs of EFL vs. ESL situations. Let me be a bit more specific with my disquiet.

For an example of problems from our research community, we need simply to turn to the most popular model propounded at the moment–Krashen's (1981) second language acquisition model, which dichotomizes all activities as either acquisition or learning. Personally, I think we researchers have not done an effective enough job educating the general membership of TESOL about other models. There are attractive alternatives to Krashen's paradigm that are not given enough visibility by the research community. I am thinking here of the well-articulated four component model that McLaughlin et al. have profferred in a recent *Language Learning* article (McLaughlin, Rossman, and McLeod 1983).

As for the disintegration of classroom practices, I think we can place much of the blame on methodologists. We find a lot of cuisinaire rods, role plays, and total physical responses in our classrooms, but little cohesion and coherence. Function and communication are often perceived to be in, but form and language are

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Thomas Scovel, Associate Professor at San Francisco State University, has trained EFL teachers in Thailand and China. He is a longstanding member of TESOL.

frequently perceived to be out. In the words of a current John Lennon hit, released posthumously, "There's always something happening, but there's nothing going on." Jack Richards put it perfectly in his plenary address to the Toronto TESOL convention when he said, "The important issues then are not which Method to adopt, but how to develop procedures and instructional activities which will enable these objectives to be attained. This is not a question of choosing a method, but of developing a Methodology" (Richards 1983: 17).

And as for the teaching of English in places like Great Britain, Canada, and the United States as opposed to EFL, newcomers to TESOL are often left with the feeling that differences between the two situations far exceed any similarities. Sometimes, it takes a snuff of humor to deflect our attention to the possibility that ESL and EFL are essentially unitary. I recall, for example, the amusing sentence one of my ESL students at San Francisco State penned in a composition class, but I emphasized that the same errors emerge all the time in the compositions of EFL students abroad. Asked to describe a local foreign restaurant, she wrote, "At Ota Fuku Tei a customer is *severed* in a very nice, traditional Japanese way!"

Again, let me reiterate that I perceive these fragmentary views as especially dangerous for newcomers to the field, not necessarily for the experienced veterans of our profession, so to those of you who do indeed find this field "a brave new world," take some time before you jump on a bandwagon. Alan Maley said it well at another plenary when he talked about the need for time to transpire for change to take place. Take time, and be as wise as serpents; better yet, be as careful as porcupines making love.

What are some alternatives to the divisiveness in our field which I have just catalogued? What is right in our profession? Specifically, what is right in research, in classroom practices, and in the twin areas of EFL and ESL? I realize, of course, that some of you would prefer not to look at research at all. Perhaps you side with Earl Stevick who has been cited as claiming that it was biologically impossible for him to do research – as implausible for him as having a baby. Others of you may look to research as a drunk looks for a street light – not for illumination but for support! Finally, there may be others who approach research like another drunk who started to look for his lost car keys. He had dropped them in a dark area of the pavement but was on his hands and knees, searching for them a good twenty yards away under the street light. When a curious stranger pointed out that he was searching for them in the wrong place, the drunk replied, "I know, but it's light over here!" All of us need the illumination that good research can provide, and whatever its manifestation, all of us must acknowledge its salient role in our profession – as support, yes, but even more, for the light it sheds on our discipline. There are two kinds of research that can be beneficial for any teacher in our profession.

First there is the voice of experience. If we search and re-search our own experience or that of our fellow professionals, and if we undertake this enterprise honestly and openly, we are conducting a kind of research. This process must be rigorous and systematic, and it must be free from preordained conclusions. Several of the plenary talks at the Houston Convention represent this experiential approach: Alan Maley, Thomas Jupp, John Oller, and Shirley Brice Heath summarized their systematic, experiential conclusions about topics of common concern to us all. Classroom teachers often ask researchers the somewhat vexing question, "And how's that going to help me in my class this Monday morning?" Let me put the shoe on the other foot – what is something you as a classroom teacher can do for research in our profession this Monday morning? What experience can you glean from your own teaching that will contribute in some way to your colleagues' work? You might want to employ a new technique you picked up from a workshop and apply it carefully and thoughtfully to your class next week. After a period of time, make an honest assessment – was it useful? Why/why not?

But there is another way to re-search issues as well, and that is through experiments. The issues of *TESOL Quarterly* and *Language Learning* are replete with excellent examples of experimental research, so you need not venture far to encounter illustrations. I am sure my friends in the profession who consider themselves experimentalists each have a favorite article or study, but my personal choice is so winsome, I have shared it many times before in public. Based on the early work of Schachter and Celce-Murcia on the possibility that English learners unconsciously avoid target structures in English which differ markedly from their mother tongue, Howard Kleinmann (1977) pursued a clever experimental strategy to discover whether Spanish and Arabic learners implicitly avoided syntactic structures in their second language which contrasted with their first language. Spanish, for example, has no exact equivalent of the English expression, "You asked her to close the door," although Arabic does. Unlike both English and Arabic, Spanish does not employ the accusative, but uses an embedded clause in the subjunctive – something akin to "You asked that she should close the door." Conversely, Arabic, unlike either English or Spanish, has no genuine passive but uses another means to topicalize objects. Thus, "The car was struck by the bus," is expressed in Arabic by something like, "As for the car, the bus struck it." Using little role plays and pictures, Kleinmann interviewed an equal number of Spanish and Arabic EFL students under identical conditions and ended up with appealing experimental support for his hypothesis that EFL students will unconsciously avoid L2 structures that are not found in their native tongue. That is, Spanish speakers avoided "her to close the door" phrases, although Arabic speakers didn't; and Arabic speakers avoided passive sentences in English, though these were not eschewed by the Spanish speakers. I have gone into some detail here, but the reward for paying attention to this study is found in two delightful anecdotes which represent, to me, an experimental epiphany.

One of the Spanish subjects was shown a picture of a bus striking a car, and Kleinmann then asked her in English, "What happened to the car?" Recall that since Spanish and English are similar here, no avoidance was predicted. Sure enough, the woman took a deep breath and blurted out, "The car was – I don't know what the past participle of *strike* is – by the bus!" In contrast to this Spanish student, an Arabic subject displayed a completely different response. After being shown the same picture and again asked the same question, "What happened to the car?", the Arabic student paused thoughtfully. Later, Kleinmann confessed until this subject gave his answer, he had not paid much attention to the fact that his picture depicted a woman driver in the car and a male bus driver. "The car . . . ," the student began, "The woman backed into the bus!" Note how the student so deftly displayed avoidance of the passive as well as the belief that a male driver could not possibly be outperformed by a female counterpart! I mention these examples because they give us rare glimpses into how the mind of a language learner works. Experiments and experience can contain moments of magic – moments of revelation which, if shared, can help us better understand our students, and ultimately make us better teachers. Learn to cherish research!

What about classroom practice? This important area has been richly represented by the program of each annual convention, and it is difficult to characterize the diversity of this domain concisely. I turn, therefore, to a phrase the current President of TESOL, Charles Blatchford, used a few years ago when he spoke at a colloquium my wife and I organized on English teaching in the People's Republic of China. He was in the middle of a two-year teaching stint in Gansu, a far western province, and so he was at the cutting edge, so to speak, of classroom practice. I thought he capably captured the very essence of all pedagogy when he said that he viewed all teaching as the building of *confidence* and *competence*. Whether you are from Lubbock, Texas, or Lanzhou, Gansu, that's the central concern, isn't it?—making our students confident and competent.

The innovations that we have seen in methods have, by and large, dealt with the question of confidence. Whether you attempt to employ an innovative audiolingual approach a la Rassias, a communally minded support group within the Counseling-Learning framework, an action-packed session of Total Physical Response, or the laid-back subconscious approach of Suggestopedia, all these new, humanistic methods are primarily designed to give your students a sense of self-esteem and confidence. Superficially, these methods appear to be very diverse—as disparate as the contrasting styles and personalities of the people who founded them, but it is important, no, it is crucial, that those of you who are new to the field should understand their commonality. Ironically, as Mark Clarke observed in his excellent *TESOL Quarterly* article on "Bandwagons," it is frequently the inexperienced teacher who is the most zealous advocate of a particular methodology (Clarke 1982). Though I harbor no ardor for any method, I would prefer that the situation were reversed in our search and re-search for confidence-building. I would prefer dispassion and disinterest in the young teacher, and fervor and commitment in the veteran. And lest the more experienced reader think I am ignoring you, I am one of you and I empathize with your situation. Samuel Johnson could have been writing about us when he chose to define a second marriage as a "triumph of hope over experience!"

But let us not forget competence. We hear a lot about competence nowadays, and we read a lot about it in our journals, in our teacher-training texts, and in the materials publishers provide us. Well, we should. Well, we should! Linguistic competence and communicative competence go together like love and marriage used to go together, and it is no accident that they are stressed in each successive TESOL Convention. There are additional competencies that we can examine however. In this age of computer technology, we must explore the appropriate uses of this important instrument in our classrooms. Obviously, before our students can be expected to display confidence and competence in CAI, we must possess these qualities first. This is why presentations like the paper by Canale and Barker (1984) of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education are so timely. Canale and Barker's closing remarks are worth repeating. "Nowadays," they conclude, "educators are continually asked to become computer literate. Equally important," they underscored, "is the need for people in computer technology to become educationally literate." Grow in your own professional confidence and competence and watch your students grow in their confidence and competence in English.

We need to look beyond research and beyond classroom practices though – we must also examine the larger geo-political arena of our discipline and the mutual dependence of EFL and ESL implied by our awkward name. Each year, I send a postcard to my parents from the annual conclave, and almost each year, I receive the same query back – would you explain just one more time what T-E-S-0-L stands for? What it stands for to those of you who are new members is the belief that we are all mutually dependent on one another. Even the popular dichotomies that are bandied about do not, to my mind, diminish the enormous overlap that teaching English as a foreign language and teaching English here in North America share. Take interference, for example. It supposedly plays a small role in language acquisition in the foreign language classroom and even a more insignificant role for the second language student, at least according to Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982), but mother-tongue interference seems to be an important factor in all non-primary language acquisition. Papers presented at a colloquium at the Houston Convention on "interlanguage phonology" were just one source of corroboration for this longstanding claim. Recall again the composition error that I mentioned earlier which left the unfortunate impression that customers were losing their heads at a certain Japanese restaurant in California. The choice of *severed* for *served* could be purely overgeneralization in English morphology and/or English orthography, but it is impossible to rule out interference from the student's native Japanese. This error, the examples of Kleinmann, and countless other pieces of evidence show that there is a natural human tendency to retreat to what you know, when you encounter something new. For the beginning language learner, what is "known" and safe is the mother tongue. For the more advanced learner, the haven of retreat is what has recently been learned in the target language. It is no wonder that when we learn a *third* language, our most conspicuous problem is with intrusions from the second, not the first tongue. All of this leads me to believe that interference is an important and unitary phenomenon and, as defined here, can be treated in a similar fashion irrespective of the EFL or ESL situation in which the student is taught.

Besides interference, I would also claim that integration is a common theme for both EFL and ESL learners. We have grown comfortable with the position that integrative motivation is found almost exclusively in ESL classrooms whereas instrumental motivation is reserved for EFL situations. Certainly that traditional distinction is sometimes efficacious, but I think again that for newcomers to the field, it is best to be open-minded. From my experience teaching English in Thailand, and more recently in China, I can see the usefulness of calling these typical examples of TEFL as integrative situations. For the foreign scientist, engineer, or physician who will most probably never have direct contact with English speakers, English is still a means to integrate into a professional community. That sense of identification, communication, and belonging may not be quite as personal as the experiences of an ESL immigrant, but they are much more akin to integrative motivation than they are to instrumental. So I see our EFL and ESL colleagues sharing a common interest in the role of interference from a linguistic perspective and a common concern with integrative goals in terms of psychological motivation.

I have tried to cover three wide-ranging topics – from research to classroom activities to the curricular goals of EFL and ESL. There is much that is left untouched in this brief homily, but before I conclude, I would leave a few words of valediction. Here I speak to you personally, not professionally. Half a decade ago, Aldous Huxley wrote a novel about the future of our planet which predicted, with chilling accuracy, the advent of genetic engineering. His title was purposely ambiguous because he wanted it to reflect both the satirical and the potential, both a world of antiseptic thought control and a place where the glorious promise of the human spirit might be achieved. His title then is my title. If we are to press forward in our common quest to create a brave new world for our profession, we would do well to heed Huxley's prophetic words. My favorite passage in the entire book is found in the Foreword, where he wrote, "This really revolutionary revolution is to be achieved, not in the external world, but in the souls and flesh of human beings," Too often we forget this simple truth. Too often, the world of TESOL is too much with us, and gaining and spending, we lay waste our sorrows!

Sometimes, it is our students who bring us back to our senses – who suddenly remind us once again that we are involved with what Stevick (1976) so propitiously phrased as the world inside and between people. Recently, when I was feverishly grading a set of intermediate ESL compositions, I had to put down the red pen and reflect for a moment at the captivating way one of my students managed to describe her hobby. I suddenly realized how important this activity was for her, and for so many others. This is what she wrote:

> I like to garden on some days more than others. When my day has been particularly busy, when I have been frustrated, when people have hurt me or made me mad, then, especially, I like to work in the yard. When I weed, I not only clean up my garden, but I clean away the ugly parts of my day. When I dig, I imagine what I would like to have said to some people, but I didn't, or I couldn't say it. Sometimes, I dig the soil with my thoughts. Spending my energy of the day on weeds and soil, I begin realizing that I am ready to recreate it with my new plants.

Despite the frenzy and fatigue that sometimes besets us in academia, I hope that you have found some plot in TESOL in which to till the soil, plant some seeds, weed, water, and wait. Sometimes, a brave new world is right at our fingertips.

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PART II

NEW DIRECTIONS AND DISCOVERIES IN RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

How does a person learn a second language? How is language used by those acquiring a second language in both natural settings and within a classroom environment? Do cultural differences affect second language acquisition? What are the cognitive processes that a learner brings to bear when acquiring a second language? How do affective differences influence the process? How does the sociolinguistic setting affect the learner? What are the best methods to use when conducting second language acquisition studies? How do research findings apply to classroom practices? All of these questions, and many others, are the focus of current investigations in the field and all were discussed in Houston at the '84 TESOL Convention. The papers in this section offer a representative sample of the types of studies being conducted and offer us new insights in the areas of second language acquisition and learning.

Shirley Brice Heath's plenary address discusses what "literate" skills are and how they differ from "literacy" skills. According to Heath, becoming literate is "learning to talk reading and writing." By studying two populations, Heath reports on how students can learn to become literate in a language. She also discusses how researchers can interact with classroom teachers and students in a cooperative venture where all parties benefit from the process. Through this process students become aware of the functional uses of language and how language differs in its form and style depending on the communicative goal. Simultaneously, teachers and researchers become more attuned to how students' language develops and gain valuable insights on both the acquisition process and in classroom techniques that foster language growth. Heath also points out how children from different cultural backgrounds possess differing views and uses of langauge.

Next, Joseph Foley looks at language development in Singapore among young children who are reared in a local non-English-speaking environment by parents who are English educated. By analyzing the speech patterns of children in this community, Foley discovers that the colloquial speech patterns are the same as adults who speak a "localized," indigenous variety of English. Based on his findings Foley advocates a change in the syllabus used in primary grades with the emphasis shifting from grammatical accuracy to one of oral fluency stressing situational and functional competence in English.

In a quite different study, Billie Robbins' paper concentrates on the comprehension of anaphoric references in second language learners. She is interested in investigating whether or not bilingual and monolingual children differ in their comprehension of this grammatical feature, which is vital to success in reading. Robbins finds that bilingualism is not a significant factor. Rather, the differences in performance are a product of reading level.

Differences caused by students' cultural background are also the subject of Lynne Hansen's study. Hansen focuses on how levels of anxiety in mainland, urban Asian students and Pacific Islander students are affected by an ESL noise test. Her research shows differences in performance between the two groups. Pacific Islanders, contrary to expectations, felt less anxiety than Asian students. Hansen closes by warning us that since cultural differences may affect test performance, we may be wise in employing several different measurements when assessing ESL students' language abilities.

William Acton's paper presents a model for analyzing the role of affect in language acquisition and teaching. After a review of several affect-related studies, Acton examines the application of the findings to ESL classroom practices. He claims that affective variables are context sensitive, and that attitudes are "contagious" or influenced from several directions. He also believes that any expression of affect represents a "symbolic, cognitive activity" and that continued research in discourse analysis and pragmatics will enable us to obtain a better understanding of the language used in expressing attitudes and emotions.

C. Ray Graham's paper also deals with the affective domain in its discussion of the relationship between motivation and language acquisition. He describes "assimilative motivation," a desire to become an indistinguishable member of a dialect or speech community, and traces its development from infancy to adulthood. Graham claims that assimilative motivation is essential to the acquisition of native-like speech in a second language, and that it is a peer-group phenomenon which is particularly strong in infancy and early childhood, although certain external factors can disrupt it during early childhood.

It is agreed that linguistic intake is crucial if second language acquisition is to occur. Bill Van Patten, using concepts that are important in information processing theory, tries to answer the question of how second language learners get linguistic intake from linguistic input. He argues that what becomes intake has to do with processing constraints on available attention and effort. Van Patten theorizes that learners process input solely from meaning and once meaning is assessed automatically, then attention can be directed to certain "non-important" structures in the input. Like previous authors, Van Patten acknowledges the role of affective variables in the process, claiming that these variables may affect the processing of structures.

Shegenori Tanaka and Hajimi Abe also look at the processing of second language data. Their concern is with semantic transfer interlanguage data. Tanaka and Abe claim that the data can be explained through a semantic transfer hypothesis caused by interlingual semantic mapping. Two processes seem to occur, underextension of meaning and overextension of meaning. The former is characteristic of the first stages of lexical acquisition while the latter appears in later stages of second language learning.

We close this section with a general paper on second language acquisition research methodology. Cheryl Brown offers us an overview of the similarities and differences between two strategies used to study second language acquisition in the classroom: diary studies and participant observation studies. Brown reviews the claims put forward by advocates of each approach and discusses them in light of her own research. She offers suggestions on why researchers may decide to select one method over the other. These suggestions can help to guide those who plan to conduct future second language acquisition studies.

LITERACY OR LITERATE SKILLS? CONSIDERATIONS FOR ESL/EFL LEARNERS

Shirley Brice Heath
Stanford University

The task I have given myself in this piece is to argue that we are not in a crisis of literacy skills, but instead a crisis of literate skills. I want to argue that becoming literate is not the same thing as learning to read and write; it is learning to talk reading and writing. I want to argue that those who can solve this literate crisis are teachers, students, and researchers working together, and I mean here literally working together, not each independently toward a similar goal.

Teachers and teacher-educators may despair at this idea, since they could react with the view that they are being asked once again to add to their already overflowing task assignments. In addition to dealing with individualized teaching, mastery learning, different languages and learning styles, and endless other innovations in education, they are being asked to take on responsibility for solving another crisis – another task is laid out for teachers at the same time that many societal and economic forces demean their role as professionals, and diminish their hope of receiving a living wage. Teachers may well ask if we can expect them to take on this additional task.

I am afraid the answer is yes, and I can offer no easy solutions. It is at once both the joy and the despair of human life that it is far too complicated for those of us in either the pure or social sciences to reduce it to simple solutions or explanations. But as a long-time teacher, I have an initial confession which is the assumption underlying all I have to say here. It is the expectation that a majority of those of us in teaching – regardless of the age of our students – believe in the infinite improvability of human beings. Any evidence we may grasp that the potential of those we teach is being fulfilled is our reward for the long hours, lack of gratitude from the public, and demeaning tasks we are asked to do. Therefore,

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my suggestions here rest on the continued good will of teachers, but more importantly, on the ultimate professional army of talent that waits to be released in teachers, students, and researchers as they work together.

I illustrate here in two cases how the combination of these talents redefined literate skills for students in a basic English classroom of Black dialect speakers in an Alabama high school and for a group of limited English speakers in an ESL classroom in South Texas. Two themes run through these cases; the first of these is the "tie-in" theme; the second is the "tie-back" theme. Both themes remind us of ways to link the language of the classroom both to the home context of students and to their future uses of language. The tie-in theme refers to the ties across forms of communication, from joke or story in the oral channel, for example, to news article or explanatory essay in the written channel. The tie-back theme encompasses our efforts to tie back what we are trying to do in the classroom to the first-language socialization of the students we are teaching and to better understanding of our own first-language learning. Both of the teacher-researcher-student linkages described here were part of a loose network of such triads linked through letter-writing; this pattern of linking was originally the idea of Amanda Branscombe, a former teacher in Alabama who had studied the teaching of writing with James Britton, Dixie Goswami, Ken Macrorie, and Nancy Martin at the Bread Loaf School of English.

In Alabama

In 1981-82, Branscombe was the teacher of a ninth-grade Basic English class of eighteen students (14 black, 4 white), all but three of whom had previously been in special education classes designed for students judged mentally inferior and having an intelligence quotient on the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test between 75 and 85. In a brief meeting with her during the summer of 1981, I heard Branscombe talk about her methods of teaching writing in which she used a letter exchange between her ninth graders and her college-bound junior and senior English class. I asked her to take fieldnotes on this process for one class during 1981-82, to correspond with me throughout the year, and to share with me the writings of her students. I agreed to write letters to the students, asking them to focus on their own language learning and to become associate ethnographers with me as they collected data on language uses in their communities. Throughout the first semester the ninth graders wrote Branscombe's upperclassmen weekly, exchanging information on their respective social worlds. During the semester Branscombe read portions of ethnographies to the ninth graders, showed films describing the work of ethnographers, and prepared the class for their role during the second semester as my correspondents. In January, when the ninth graders no longer had the upperclassmen as correspondents, I began writing to the class, asking them to collect data on their uses of oral and written language. I asked the students to work together as a community of ethnographers, collecting, interpreting, and building a data bank of information about language in their worlds. They had access to knowledge I wanted, and the only way I could get that knowledge was for them to write to me. They collected fieldnotes, wrote interpretations of patterns they discovered as they discussed their fieldnotes, and they answered the questions I raised about their data collection and their interpretations. They agreed also to take responsibility for seeing through any research write-up which might result from their fieldwork; they were to read drafts of my research reports and offer comments, corrections, and additions (Heath and Thomas 1984).

I wrote my five to ten-page single-spaced letters just as I would write to a university-level colleague, with one exception. In my first few letters, I spoke personally to the students, addressing individuals by name and inserting them into the text by asking questions, such as "You may want to know why this information is important." In subsequent letters, I wrote of general principles, depersonalizing the actions they were to take and decontextualizing interpretations of patterns I was beginning to draw from their data. In their fieldnotes and letters, they described the contexts, speakers, and purposes of oral and written language which surrounded them in their homes, work settings, and classroom. Branscombe supplemented these requests by asking them to discuss in groups in her classroom their findings and to challenge interpretations of pattern development. She took fieldnotes on these discussions, audiotaped some small-group work, and wrote accounts of her own assessments of the classroom as a learning environment.

Results of the year's work for individual students in the class are reported elsewhere (Heath and Thomas 1984, Heath and Branscombe, forthcoming, a and b), and only general points applicable to the class as a whole will be mentioned here. First, the students learned that communication is negotiation. Nearly every student who took seriously the task of associate ethnographer had a crisis of understanding with me, the distant other with whom they could communicate only in writing. I challenged points they made in their letters and interpretive essays, asked for evidence of their conclusions, pointed out contradictions I found in their fieldnotes, and critiqued their strategies in their oral interviews with informants. They initially responded emotionally to these challenges, countering with their own doubts about my aims. One student wrote, "I would like to know why you are doing this what are you going to gain by doing this and the way things are going I believe you have changed your mind about coming and don't want us to know and I don't believe you are coming if you are not coming you are wasting our time." Later they argued their points, asserting themselves as the experts they were over the knowledge they had collected, recorded, and interpreted. They turned the responsibility for careful reading back to me, asserting that I had not paid attention to their texts, or that they had written the information I said I lacked in an earlier letter. After an initial period of blaming the reader, they accepted responsibility as writers. They garnered evidence, admitted they sometimes saw the gaps I pointed out, and returned to collect more information, refine interpretations, or compare data collected at one point in time with those collected later.

In addition to learning that communication is negotiation, the students began to realize they could preplay their interpretations with either their classmates or themselves, listening for the arguments which had no data for support, identifying the gaps in knowledge which might keep readers from accepting their interpretation, and correcting their conclusions before they mailed them to me. Through the dyadic writing – first with the upperclassmen and then with me – the ninth graders had learned to play the role of writer and reader, to anticipate and hypothesize the kind of information the reader will bring to the text and the questions the reader will raise. They had learned to listen – to truly listen – to their own arguments, comparisons and contrasts, and persuasions, and to hypothesize another listener who did not bring their knowledge and background to their writings.

If the students learned that communication is negotiation and that they must play reader and writer roles in response to their own texts, what did the teacher and researcher learn? Branscombe and I gradually recognized that the best way to assess students' progress was to ask them to analyze their own written work. They had recorded, described, and interpreted patterns of oral and written language in their homes and the work settings of their parents, as well as in their own classroom. Why couldn't they look at their early letters and compare them with later letters? Branscombe helped the students focus on the features of their letters through which they might measure their growth: length, use of formal features (such as salutations, closings, paragraphing, etc.), and introduction and follow up of topics of interest to them. The evaluative process, usually imposed by the teacher, became one in which students helped determine how one letter might be "better" than another, and how far they had come between September and May in their writing. Furthermore, they could listen to themselves in small-group discussions audiotaped early in the year and compare their arguments then with their assertion of thesis, evidence, and implications later in the year. Thus teacher and researcher learned that evaluating could be added to the process of collecting, recording, interpreting, and comparing information on oral and written language.

In addition, teacher and researcher learned that the more the students talked about their research, the better their oral arguments became. Moreover, as they talked more, they wrote more, and as they surrounded their writing with more talk, they could more efficiently and effectively make their points on paper. Talking out their ideas in an atmosphere in which all students were focused on a similar task – the study of language – and in an interactive situation in which they knew a distant *other* would challenge their ideas empowered them to anticipate problems in their writing. As a result of their talk in class, they solved with each other many of the miscommunication problems which had arisen in their early writing, as the result of their failure to state clearly their topic, provide supporting evidence, and clarify the critical features (such as age, sex, situation, and audience) of samples of language they had recorded.

At the end of the year, all of the students moved out of Basic English into "regular" English classes, and two moved into "honors" English. Accomplishments were real and meaningful for these students. The teacher had, throughout the year, had a support system – a distant researcher with whom to share her students' work and her own ideas about curriculum, practice, and philosophy. The researcher had benefitted from being called to task by informants and by having an opportunity to attach research to practical outcomes measurable not only in quantitative terms but also in changes in the quality of classroom experience for students and teacher. The cooperation with teacher and students had allowed the researcher to put ethnography into the hands of those who could use it to improve both their knowledge of what was happening in their learning and their skills in oral and written language.

In South Texas

In 1983-84, Evelyn Hanssen, a graduate student in the reading program at the University of Indiana, and Mark Ash, an ESL teacher in a South Texas high school, worked as researcher and teacher partners, studying the learning of English by the limited English speakers in two of Ash's classrooms. I had met Hanssen briefly at a conference where I talked about Branscombe's students; Ash was a teacher I met at the Bread Loaf School of English in the summer of 1983. He and Hanssen have never met, but through my written introductions, they agreed to begin a letter exchange in which Hanssen asked Ash's students to record for her their uses of oral and written language.

In early September, Hanssen wrote to Ash's classes:

> I. . . am interested in learning about how language is used in different parts of the country. Since I can't travel all around the United States, I would like you to be the researchers in your area. This means that I will ask you to set up or observe different situations, record the results, and report back to me. In this way I hope we'll all learn a little more about language.

Luisa, a student who rarely spoke out in class, wrote to Hanssen:

> Hi my name is Luisa here you fine me writting to you this letter. I hope you are fine. I am fine thank you. I will tell you about me. I am 14 year old. I go 9 grader. I hope you writte to me soon as pasable to now more about you. I want a teacher can't now spansh, for our class can't talk spansh. For English. I hope when you take a picture to now more about you. Please seen me a picture. I don't now who (how) to make letter to a frande (friend). Please i now you want under stande my latter. I want to now about you and i hope you tell me. Who (how) old are you. Miss or Mrs. Evelyn Hanssen. Please Miss or Mrs pleas take care. I hope one day you come.

Hanssen wrote back to Luisa and all the other students with a long single-spaced letter in which she commented on the common points of interest in the students' letters and responded to their queries about her. She then asked them to join her in their first investigation focusing on their uses of reading and writing. She wrote:

> I'm interested in knowing how teenagers use reading in their everyday lives. Everyone from the age of 3 to 83 reads everyday and most people write daily. But if we can indentify the kinds of reading and writing that teenagers do, this could help high school teachers plan lessons to better help their students.

She asked each class to split themselves into two groups; one-half of the class kept track of everything they read, and the other recorded all they wrote each day. She suggested some of the items they might read (signs, cereal boxes, information on the blackboard, textbooks, the TV Guide, etc.) as well as items they might write daily (notes to friends, telephone numbers, school assignments, etc.). She further suggested how they might work in groups to organize their "data," a term she defined for the students. The groups could categorize types of reading and writing, talk about what the categories meant, identify different purposes for reading and writing, and consider how topics differed between their reading and their writing. Once the groups had drawn up categories and talked about these questions, they could count the number of times students in each group did reading or writing that fit into one or the other of the categories they had developed. She asked the classes to reflect after their group discussions on what their data meant and to answer some specific questions she posed for them: Do teenagers read or write more? Why do you think this is? What types of reading and writing do teenagers do most often? Why are some kinds of reading and writing more important than others?

The students responded with lists of types of reading and writing, notes answering specific questions, and reports of issues that had been raised in their discussion groups. They did not present a coherent picture of their views of reading and writing. Mary, a Spanish-English bilingual, wrote:

> We really enjoyed the work you gave us it was hard but fun not hard but hard to remember when you forgot to write it down.
>
> Yes a lot of teenagers read but they don't take it serious. I think they don't take it serious cause they well I have many more years to learn or thats the way I use to think. The most they do is writing cause theyre always writing to their girlfriends or boyfriends and reading to because they need to know how to read to be able to read the letters.

Mary argued that teenagers knew reading could benefit their learning, but they did not identify an immediate need to learn through reading for they had "many more years to learn." Writing, however, met a much more immediate need—communicating privately with members of the opposite sex in the public world of the high school.

Mary's classmates varied greatly in their individual interpretations of their data. Some focused on comparisons of the amount of writing and reading different homework assignments required, refusing to recognize any other kinds of reading and writing as valid for analysis. Others, such as Jesus, commented on the way in which Hanssen presented the project and her involvement as inspiration for him: "Thanks for all of your letters. They were so warm and friendly that I became even more excited about our working together." Still others took her questions about reading and writing to be a subtle reminder of their need to prepare for tests; one student wrote: "I think if I do my work and try hard I may have a good chince (chance) to pass the CTBS test." Still others suggested there were other questions which could be raised about the data. Luis wrote:

> I fould your letter very interesting. I did the assignment you asked for and it wasn't very easy. I would like to know what kind of writing do students like best? What kind of reading do students also like? My general reactions to this project are that I enjoyed it very much and I found it very interesting. I had never done nothing so intresting before.

Yet another student wrote in Spanish, saying she could not yet write in English and she was having a hard time understanding, but she believed that being at school in the United States would be good for her because she would learn to speak English.

Hanssen responded by telling them she would need more information on these questions; they would have to pretend they were writing to a "real dummy." She promised to analyze their data and send another letter asking them to follow up. Meanwhile, she asked them to do interviews about language, practicing first with members of their class, and then with members of their family and community. The interviews were to focus on the uses of reading. She gave the students tips on interviewing she had picked up from practicing an interview: "don't be bothered by silence; wait and give the other person plenty of time to answer; don't suggest answers, just help them remember." She reminded them that after the interview, they would have to write down all they could remember from the interview in terms as specific as possible. The students responded by telling Hanssen about the person they interviewed and their ways of conducting the interview, as well as their results. For example, Esmeralda wrote:

> I interviewed Guadalupe. I had a little troble because she speaks Spanish and the troble I had was to write everything in English. I tryed very hard to do the best I could on writing it in English. . . . Know what I have to write is what I learn about Guadalupe. Well in ways she is like me. The only thing different is that she speaks Spanish all the time and me I do speak Spanish but I speak English better and more than Spanish.

Other students assessed the project as "too easy," "not as hard as last time"; several asked for the next assignment. Still others used their letter to provide an update on the previous project; Juan wrote:

> . . . we're improving our writing. the first thing we do in class is write for ten minutes to our partner. Then write back to them. We're also writing letters to some other people in Alaska, Maine, South Dakota, and other places. We sometimes write to any students in our school.

The form of the interview results ranged from narratives within letters to listings of points made in the interview. Several students listed their questions and their partner's answers on separate pages; others tried to write down as best they could remember their partner's answers, and commented on the inadequacy of their recall. Letters to Hanssen were sprinkled with comments such as "I hope you like the project." "I think I need more practice on this." "I hope you can send us more work similar to the one you gave us."

In her subsequent letter, Hanssen turned the students' attention back to their first collection of the types of reading and writing in teenagers' lives, just as she had promised she would. She provided her own analysis of their data and raised questions she hoped they could answer. She noted that some students drew conclusions, others raised questions, and most must have grossly undercounted their instances of reading each day. She explained how she had looked at their data:

> . . . both lists of reading had about the same number of instances of reading. One writing list, however, had three times as many instances of writing recorded as the other list. Here it is in chart form.

Reading	108	101
Writing	180	64

Number of instances of reading and writing

> I'm not sure what all this means. Is that really *all* the reading you did? A little arithmetic tells me that each of you keeping track of your reading averaged 14 instances of reading for the whole day. I bet you really did more reading than that before you even got to school, but you weren't aware of it. There are a lot of things we read that we don't even think about. Because we do it so naturally, we don't notice it.

Hanssen raised other questions, showing the students the figures she had developed from their writing and the questions she wanted them to consider as they collected more data. She pointed out that their data showed that they had as many different types of writing as they had of reading. She closed her letter by asking "Do you think this would still be true if you remembered to record all the different types of reading you were doing that you didn't even notice?" Through the entire year, Hanssen responded to the students' data with analysis, questions of interpretation, and new, but related, research tasks.

The end of the tale of Mark Ash's students' adventures in their study of reading and writing has not come, for this article was written before their school term of 1983-84 ended. Hanssen will analyze their writings and report the results (Hanssen forthcoming). During the entire term, she kept a journal recording her thoughts about the project and her reasons for stressing certain questions at certain points during the year. The teacher had a very full year, filled with an increasing number of professional demands which came when others heard about his innovative project with his ESL students. Asked to travel about his region to tell other teachers about innovative approaches to teaching writing, he often had to leave his class to substitute teachers, who were not able to facilitate the discussions about the reading and writing research as the teacher himself could have. Family illness and resulting additional parenting responsibilities for Ash further eroded his time and energy in the classroom. At year's end, he positively evaluated the role the distant researcher Hanssen had played in sustaining reading and writing activities for his ESL students and in providing professional support, patience, and innovative ideas for him. The teacher-researcher-students collaboration had helped support a teacher during a year in which he had been hit by extraordinary personal and professional demands.

What had the results been for the researcher? As a former teacher, Hanssen wanted to explore ways to make her research directly helpful to teachers; she wanted to keep in touch with elementary or secondary classrooms. Through her involvement with Ash's classes, she had come to new understandings of research as teacher support. The data from students had raised questions relevant to the design of any research and to teacher education research specifically. Hanssen's work during the year had been both a pilot project and a curricular contribution. She had recognized how "problems" for teachers and students can become data for researchers, and how important it is to link a teacher's language model with a teaching model.

What about the students? Why did students who presumably lacked basic skills in English not spend their time with obvious instruction on grammar, spelling, and pronunciation? Through their fieldnotes, counts, brief reports, and letters, the students as a group learned to focus on language as object of study; moreover, they received practice in a variety of oral language uses (interviews, deliberation over data, group interpretation of Hanssen's letters, etc.). Their teacher wanted his students to know that there are many ways of presenting information, and speakers and writers must learn to anticipate what their audience knows. Through their focus on a topic they knew well-themselves speaking, reading, and writing in daily lives – students could see themselves as experts, capable of explaining any questions or confusions which arose about the data they had collected. The interest of a distant researcher in work they generated gave them a real audience, purpose, and motivation for collecting, reporting, and interpreting their data. In their letters throughout the year, those students who had begun the year with little writing experience in English, dropped their formulaic phrases which were direct translations from traditional openings of letters in Spanish; they wrote longer letters, sustained discussion on more topics in each letter, mixed types of utterances (from questions to exclamations), and introduced new topics with sufficient background to enable Hanssen to understand their messages. Hanssen's curiosity about their different types of language uses generated talking, reading, and writing which focused on language uses, forms, and content. Their focus on kinds of writing and reading in different types of occasions gave these skills a saliency they had not previously had and heightened students' awareness of the prevalence of reading and writing across types of jobs in their community. Some began to consider reading and writing not only in their current daily lives, but in terms of future scenarios in which they would like to place themselves. Their teacher had the goal of improving their reading and writing skills in English, to be sure, but he believed that these skills must be built on a solid base of understanding how language has to work differently on various occasions and for varying purposes. Since these students' experiences with individuals who have no knowledge about life in their South Texas town was rare, writing to Hanssen forced them to make explicit matters they usually accepted as known to others. Their exchanges with Hanssen were different than those they had with ordinary penpals, for her letters led them to attend directly to language and to receive her questions about their language as the starting point for subsequent letters. Their research made them take note of the rich patterns of language in what one student characterized as a "little town school." Knowing this little universe was a step toward preparing them to know the many uses of language which are "out there" in the wide universe of mainstream institutions.

The Tie-in Nature of Becoming Literate

These students, through collaboration with researchers and teachers, are becoming literate; they are not simply acquiring literacy skills. Both groups of students, previously relegated to classrooms in which they were rarely regarded as experts over any kind of knowledge, have been allowed to assert themselves as authorities over the important domain of knowledge about language. They have had to accept themselves as experts who have information which others value and want but must receive in writing. Thus their oral discussions in class, as well as their prewriting and rewriting, have purposes; they are improving their chances of "making sense" to a distant reader who will hold them accountable for their language skills as well as their knowledge about language.

Their research reports, as well as analysis of their writings, indicate that they recognized the tie-in nature of language – the similarities and differences of types of talk and kinds of writing. In their letters, they wrote in personal evaluative terms about their findings, process of research, and hope that they were pleasing the researcher. Yet in their reports, quantitative listings, categorizations, and interpretive essays, they wrote of this same material in different ways. Students seemed to accept the need to become competent in expressing themselves in various forms of communication, and they used their talk in class to prepare for their written arguments, descriptions, and personal letters.

The work of James Cummins, Lily Wong Fillmore, and Merrill Swain has, in recent years, alerted us to the various functions of language and the different kinds of cognitive demands which come with social interactional language and academic tasks. Learners must, before they can become successful in using language for many functions, pay attention to the forms and structures of types of discourse. The work of Heath and Branscombe, and Hanssen and Ash involved students in cognitive academic talk and writing around topics about which they could express social and interpersonal views, but about which they ultimately had to be accountable as academic experts. Their topics for initial, repetitive, redundant, and multiply reinforced practice were, however, topics they knew well. They were immersed in the context of this knowledge through the uses of language which surrounded them daily; they had to decontextualize that knowledge to allow the distant researchers to understand what they knew. Through a variety of types of writing – personal interactive, fieldnotes, interpretive essays, and descriptions of speech and literacy events – students learned to see the relationships among the forms of different types of writing designed to carry different functions.

Furthermore, by achieving success in different types of writing focused on information they knew well, they avoided the initial failures which had for many of them accompanied their experiences in English classes. Captivated by writing and talking about an academic topic – language – students willingly engaged in numerous types of writing and repeated returns to observing, reporting, and interpreting materials they collected. The additional practice and reinforcement, which came through researchers' questions about their work, allowed them to acquire in a relatively short period of time skills which they had not learned in previous years of formal instruction around decontextualized information over which they had no ownership. For most of the students, within the first five letter exchanges, 80-85% of their words were spelled correctly, and they had left behind many of their mechanical errors. Modeling their correspondents' writing, they intuitively picked up features such as proper use and punctuation of salutations, closings, etc., and they imitated the structures of the opening sentences of paragraphs, as well as ways of introducing topics in their letters.

Yet another linkage between the skills practiced in their collection of language data and the usual requirements of English classes was their improved ability to observe. Numerous assignments, especially in ESL/EFL classes, ask students to observe contrasts between their own habits and those occurring in their new environment. Yet the skills of observing, recording, and analyzing such contrasts have not been practiced on familiar habits. These students became experts over familiar materials before they were asked to compare and contrast unfamiliar materials. Consequently, when asked to compare and contrast materials given in textbooks, literature, or films, they had an habituated set of procedures, writing genres, and analytic steps to follow. They were able to tie-in knowledge about their own fieldwork experiences to decontextualized foreign information or situations.

The Tie-back Nature of Becoming Literate

For those of us who have come from mainstream homes where we were oriented to composition-centered tasks and academic uses of language from our earliest communicative experiences, the implicit rules of academic language seem natural to us. However, we have learned these rules in a rich context of numerous supporting, reinforcing activities. For most of our students, however, we have to make explicit the academic habits of using oral and written language which the school requires, and we have to provide social interactive meaningful occasions for repeating these habits again and again. Since we cannot know the specific first language socialization of the Indo-Chinese, Middle Eastern, African, or Latin American students in our classes, we can solicit from them as much as possible about their first language socialization through asking them to recollect and collect as much as possible. However, this information will not be sufficient to guide decisions about particular uses of language with which they may be unfamiliar. Thus, ESL/EFL teachers must incorporate into the classroom a variety of types of writing and talking about writing; furthermore the content around which these occasions of talking and writing focus should ideally be familiar. To complicate learning a new language, by asking that new content be learned as well, is to make extraordinary cognitive demands on students. Thus, we begin with what they know—their own language socialization—and we help them make explicit in their second or foreign language what it is they do know about their oral and written uses of language (see Vann 1981).

Tying back classroom activities to first language socialization necessitates making explicit the nature of academic language socialization. Language becomes the object as well as the vehicle of study. Turning students to the active study of their own uses of language enables them to verbalize for teachers and for themselves comparisons and contrasts between first and second language uses, on the one hand, and between their oral and written language uses in either one or both languages, on the other hand. With the interpretations of language researchers to facilitate their thinking about the meanings of these differences for pedagogical practices, teachers and students have a context for considering not just what these differences say, but what they mean for classroom practice. The research of anthropologists and social historians who have examined literacy across cultures and time periods lends emphasis to the need to link reading and writing habits to speaking habits (see Davis 1975, Graff 1981, Goody 1977). This historical and sociocultural work indicates that the adoption and retention of literate habits is highly interdependent with early language socialization. Maintenance and extension of types and functions of literacy depend upon participation in redundant, multiple, and reinforcing occasions for sharing orally the meaning of written texts. David Olson (1984) has underscored this point for individuals as well as for societies in his identification of distinctions between "say" and "mean." Successful achievement in formal education depends on being able not only to say or report something but also to tell what it means. Such a task requires interpretation – reconciling what the data or text says with what the student knows. Students who come from homes in which their first language socialization includes daily such occasions for interpretation are usually able to take up school tasks much more readily than those students who have not experienced repeated occasions for having to articulate the meaning of words, events, and texts.

Briefly, the following early language socialization experiences seem to correlate positively with academic success and the retention of literate habits.[1]

(1) *Participation in talk delineating the sequence or the problem-and-solution aspects of on-going actions.* From descriptions of the process of getting dressed which a mother might narrate while dressing a young child, to a football coach's explanation of plays, students may hear this type of language. The extent to which preschoolers are asked to produce such talk varies greatly across cultures, and yet the ability to sequence events, explain step-by step procedures, and talk aloud about ways to solve problems is critical in academic tasks. Branscombe's students collected such data on the younger children in their families by simply recording all the types of questions adults asked preschoolers for several days at different points during their research. They were then able to compare the types of questions asked at home with those used most frequently in classrooms at school.

(2) *Participation in situations in which adults expect children to compare one phenomenon (e.g. action, scene, character, object, occasion, or written text) with another.* Adults rarely ask young children directly to make comparisons, but they will model analogical or metaphorical reasoning through their own use of and commentary on proverbs, stories, or statements of comparison and contrast ("Look carefully. That boot is not like your other one, is it?"). The subtle need to compare one situation with another and to carry the meaning of the first to the second is most often realized in story-telling. Adults may tell tales about their own or others' misdeeds as children and leave a heavy moral point hanging with the story. For their own children, they may state only a brief portion of the story as a reminder that current behaviors are similar to those of the story or they could lead to similar consequences. Without formal explication of the similarities and differences, children learn to link one occasion to another and to draw the meaning of such comparisons for their own behavior. Students in the classrooms described here collected tales from their communities as well as proverbs or aphorisms used by adults to call up metaphorical linkages in their children. In mainstream literate homes and in classrooms, numerous occasions demand that we

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[1] Elsewhere these occasions for participation are discussed in the context of the first language socialization of specific cultures – mainstream literate, Southeastern black working-class, Southeastern white working-class (Heath 1983, Heath forthcoming a) and Mexican American and Chinese American (Heath forthcoming b). The terms given some of these situations elsewhere are: reports (retellings of experiences or stories according to a prescribed sequence, with scaffolding support from an elder), accounts (fresh tellings of information or interpretations known only to the teller and not to listeners), eventcasts (summaries of the sequence of ongoing actions or forecasts of events to come), and stories (tales which include an animate character with goals; such tales often include analogical or metaphorical references, forcing listeners to compare the tale's events or meaning to current situations).

be able to compare one scene or situation with another without full explication of the similarities and differences.

(3) *Participation in verbal explanation of cause and effects*. Students in Branscombe's and Ash's classrooms had to explain cases of miscommunication by identifying sources or causes of the failure of one speaker or writer to connect with listener or reader. They recounted cases in their daily lives when adults or peers asked them to explain causes and effects: "What did you think would happen if you left your skates on the stairway? "What did you think the coach would do if you missed another practice?" In their classrooms, they began to identify their teachers' requests for explanations of causes and effects and to link these requests with certain types of discourse, such as argumentation, persuasion, generalization from specific facts, etc.

(4) *Participation in verbatim or near-verbatim retellings*. Students in Branscombe's class read books to younger children in their families and asked the youngsters to retell the stories. They listened for occasions when adults at both home and school asked for retellings and asked questions which prompted students to tell about events in the order in which they occurred or in the same way they had been given in a printed source.

(5) *Participation in story-telling*. Stories include an animate being who moves through a series of events with goal-directed behavior (Stein 1982), and familiarity with these in oral or written form enables students to participate with ease in several types of classroom activities. Textbooks across the curriculum contain stories placed within the expository text to increase students' interest and to provide variety in forms of genre. Students in the classrooms described here collected stories and analyzed the structures of those they judged as "good." They could then apply their standards to stories they found in textbooks or other classroom readings. Intuitively, they came to understand how the expected structure of stories helps listeners and readers anticipate what will come next in both oral and written stories.

These five situation types occur repeatedly in classrooms. Collection, identification, and analysis of language outside of the classroom or through recollected experiences of early childhood can help ESL/EFL students bring to consciousness the structures and implicit assumptions which surround these situations in academic performance. The more extensive and intensive a student's out-of-school experience has been with all of these types, the more likely the student will be able to meet academic performance requirements in school. We can begin to compensate for a lack of experience with these situation types by turning students' attention to their existence in their current environment beyond the classroom.

Conclusions

Being literate in today's formal education system means being able to talk and write about language as such, to explain and sequence implicit knowledge and rules of planning, and to speak and write for multiple functions in appropriate forms. Literate understanding requires far more than basic literacy skills, and the current emphasis on basic skills to eliminate the "literacy crisis" will not give us literate students. The kinds of activities described here in the class rooms of Branscombe and Ash brought teacher, researcher, and students together in the study of language; through this collaboration, students improved their handling of basic mechanics and came to understand what it means to be literate speakers and writers. Improving their basic skills in English and their facility in spoken and written English came as part of the natural process of meaningful research on the types and functions of language in their daily lives.

Jerome Bruner reminds us that "Learning is most often figuring out how to use what you already know in order to go beyond what you currently think" (1983:183). These students, teachers, and researchers working together played out Bruner's insight into learning. Language use in every moment is a reduction of uncertainty, but the uncertainty is never totally reduced. I have argued here that the attempt to reduce students' uncertainties about language should not come through teacher imposition of rules of grammar and occasions for practiced drills of decontextualized and depersonalized tasks. Instead, together students, teacher, and researcher can focus on what students already know to accomplish a joint reduction of the uncertainties of language. With such collaborative work, we can all better appreciate that a single piece of evidence of language use touches a world of antecedents and assumptions; if we follow these beginnings, they will lead us to the centers of social and cognitive worlds about which we can best learn together.

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A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE AMONG PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SINGAPORE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ENGLISH

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In part one of this paper I will consider the development of English in Singapore between the 1970 and 1980 census. In part two, I will look at the English syllabus in the primary school; and in part three show how the findings from a small-scale study of pre-school children whose parents are English educated may warrant other alternatives to the present English programs in primary schools.

The Development of English in Singapore 1970-80

Singapore is a multiethnic society with 77 per cent Chinese, 15 per cent Malays, 6 per cent Indian and 2 per cent from other ethnic origins among a population of more than 2.4 million (1980 census). The official policy of multilingualism prescribes that the four official languages (English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil) are given equal status. Yet in actual practice English has become the de facto national language (Llamzon 1977) and the dominant working language (Kuo 1977). "The complexity of the sociolinguistic situation and the influence of the operating language policies are reflected in the pattern and trend of literacy in Singapore." (Kuo 1983:1)

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The estimated literacy rate in the various official languages by age can be summarized as follows:

Age 10 to 29:	English	61.6	(expressed in percentages)
	Chinese	54.2	
	Malay	17.3	
	Tamil	2.6	
Age 30 to 60 and over:	Chinese	40.85	
	English	24.4	
	Malay	9.85	
	Tamil	3.2	

(1980 Census)

"Literacy is defined as the ability to read a newspaper in any language; given the multilingual context of Singapore, a literate person may be literate in any one or any combination of the official languages" (Kuo 1983:5). It is therefore important to look into the language or languages in which that people are literate. Persons aged 10 and over who are literate in one or more languages:

One official language only:			
	Chinese	30.3	(expressed in percentages)
	English	16.0	
	Malay	4.7	
	Tamil	1.1	
	Total 52.1		
Two or more official languages:			
	English + Chinese	18.9	
	English + Malay	9.4	
	English + Tamil	1.8	
	Other two or more	1.4	
	Total	31.5	(1980 Census)

Those figures show that there were 31.5 per cent of the population literate in two or more official languages. This section of the population was predominantly literate in English and one or more of the other three official languages, reflecting the special status of English in Singapore. Analyzing literacy in English, we find that English was the only official language with large percentages of literate persons from all ethnic communities; it is also the language which has made the most progress among all four ethnic groups. If we compare the 1970 to 1980 census figures of the population over 10 years of age who are literate in the official languages we find that:

1. In English the difference between 1970-1980 is

Malays	+21.4	(expressed in percentages)
Indians	+12.2	
Chinese	+ 1.2	
Others	− 6.8	

2. In Chinese

Chinese	+17.8
Malays	+0.3
Indians	+0.3
Others	+1.0

3. In Malay

Malays	+12.8
Indians	+5.8
Chinese	+0.1
Others	−2.7

4. In Tamil

Indians	+3.7
Malays	+0.1
Chinese	– –
Others	– –

(1980 Census)

The enormous growth of literacy in English for all ethnic groups clearly reflects the status of English as the dominant working language and its function in cross-ethnic communication in Singapore (Kuo 1983).

The language environment of the media also indicates the growing dominance of English particularly with regard to the age groups. Noticeable also is the drop among the under 30 year olds watching Mandarin programs in spite of the campaigns encouraging the learning of Mandarin. The television programs in the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) network most frequently watched are as follows:

(expressed in percentages)			English	Mandarin	*Other Varieties of Chinese	Malay	Tamil
Age	60+	to 30	10 to 33	55 to 50	20 to 7	10 to 5	1
	29	to 10	45 to 50	37 to 35	7 to 3	5 to 7	1

*These programs were mainly in Cantonese and since the 1980 census only Mandarin programs are shown on SBC.

Trends in newspaper readership show the following:

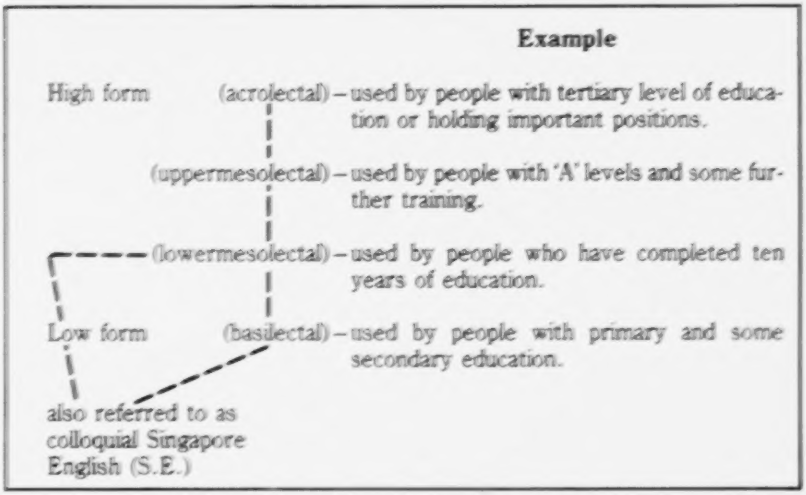
(expressed in percentages)	English newspapers	English and Chinese	English and Malay	English and Tamil
Age 60+ to 30	15 to 35	3 to 8	2 to 5	1 to 1.5
29 to 10	37 to 31	15 to 18	7 to 11	1.5 to 2

	Chinese newspapers	Malay	Tamil
60+ to 30	75 to 40	15 to 8	6 to 2
29 to 10	30 to 28	8.5 to 9	1.5 to 1

Sixty-eight per cent of young people (under 30 years old) are predominantly the multi-lingual readers of newspapers. This is a result of the shift in the enrollment to English-stream schools since the 1960's. In 98 per cent of all primary schools, English is the medium of instruction. In fact the government has recently announced that English will be the first language in all schools by 1987.

What we are seeing in Singapore is that English, a non-native language, has been given the function of a superordinate language of education, administration, trade and international relations.

However, in Singapore, as in many other countries, there is a variety of English spread along a lectal continuum and although we are only considering the sociolectal scale from the vertical point of view, this will give some indication of the variety used in Singapore (Pride 1983).



Example

High form (acrolectal) – used by people with tertiary level of education or holding important positions.

(uppermesolectal) – used by people with 'A' levels and some further training.

(lowermesolectal) – used by people who have completed ten years of education.

Low form (basilectal) – used by people with primary and some secondary education.

also referred to as colloquial Singapore English (S.E.)

(adapted from Platt and Weber 1980)

It is mainly the acrolectal variety that carries prestige value as it is the rhetorical norm of the community in so far as it is internationally understandable. This is what Tay (1983) calls "Educated Singaporean English" (S.E.), the English spoken by English-educated Singaporeans in a formal context.

There is, of course, considerable lect-shifting according to communicative requirements. However, this shift is a one way process, as it can only be done by those possessing an acro/mesolectal variety.

English in the Primary School System

If we look at the present multilingual education system, we can summarize this as follows:

Multilectal/Multilingual Education in Singapore

PRE-SCHOOL CHILD	*Malay* Local Malay dialect ------ If English– Coll. SE	*Chinese* Varieties of Chinese ----- If English– Coll. SE	*Indian* Indian languages ------ If English– Coll. SE	Eurasians *(some Indians some Chinese)* *SE* --------- Usually Coll. SE
CHILD AT SCHOOL	1. English 2. Mandarin	1. Mandarin 2. English	1. (Standard) Malay 2. English	1. (Standard) Tamil 2. English
CHILD AT SCHOOL (after 1987)	1. English 2. Mandarin	1. English 2. (Standard) Malay	1. English 2. (Standard) Tamil	

English = Formal SBrE in writing
Formal to Semi-formal SE in speech

(adapted from Platt and Weber 1980)

The English language program in primary schools is based on *The English Syllabus for the New Education System* (Ministry of Education 1981). This program outlines the 134 language items to be taught from Primary One to Primary Six. The Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS) has produced two instructional packages for English, based on this syllabus, the *Primary English Programme* (PEP) and the *New English Series for Primary Education* (NESPE). In spite of the different packaging the theoretical approach is the same, structural and behaviorist. This is reinforced by the examination at the end of Primary Six, based entirely on the 134 items listed in the syllabus. The basis for the ordering of the 134 items of language in the English Syllabus seems to have little justification other than it follows very closely a descriptive model such as those produced for graded reading schemes in the late sixties and early seventies. The target audience for these schemes was mainly adult EFL students and the basis for the sequencing of the lexico-grammatical items was that given by popular EFL textbooks published at that time. Widdowson (1981) pointed out in his report on the *New Primary English Syllabus* that it was basically a reorganization of content to fit new streaming arrangements and it incorporated no real change of pedagogic approach. He went on to say that there was no clear statement of principles of approach and no explicit rationale for the design.

One could argue that there are good reasons for a closely structured syllabus in the Singapore context not least among the points to mention would be the underqualified and undertrained English teachers in the primary sector. However, one must also consider the consequences of a rigid approach where teaching strategies become the *only* learning strategies. As an example of this the following recording was made in a Primary Four (9-10 years old) classroom. The language item being taught is 'either-or' – 'neither-nor'. The teacher was following the PEP handbook and holding up pencils.

> Teacher: "You can choose neither the red nor the blue. Which one will you choose?
> Pupil: ____________________ (response inaudible)
> Teacher: Yes? ..... Yes? He may have the green one."
> (Tape 1A 15-19 Yip Lian Choo 1983)

The drilling of this language item has little or no pragmatic validity especially as 'either-or', 'neither-nor' are not used a great deal in S.E.

The Present Study

The problem with a lot of the material used for teaching English in the Singaporean school system is that it is EFL orientated, suitable perhaps in a country where little or no English is spoken outside the classroom. Yet English in Singapore has been assigned the dominant role in the national linguistic system network. We could go even further and suggest that for a growing percentage of the under 30 year olds in the population English is becoming the dominant language in both the work and the environment. A recent study undertaken at the National University of Singapore (NUS) in 1982-83 with pre-school children showed that a more flexible approach to the teaching of English in the primary system needs to be considered.

The NUS Study can be summarizad as follows: there were 30 subjects in all, 16 female, 14 male. There were 15 subjects between the age of 3 and 4, and 15 subjects between the age of 4 and 5. The parents in all 30 households described themselves as using English as their dominant language and having tertiary or 'A' level education in English. A number of cases (10) were dropped from the study because the claim that English was used widely at home was not supported by the evidence on the tapes. In the informal setting of the home colloquial English was used, but in the 30 households the parents could move freely along the lectal continuum in English. Also, all households were at least bilingual, that is in one or more languages other than English. These languages can be broken down as follows:

Mandarin	8 households
Teochew	10
Hokkien	10
Cantonese	7
Hainanese	2
Malay	5
Tamil	4
Punjabi	1

In ten of the 30 cases in the study, there was an older brother or sister; five had a younger brother or sister. Babyminding, either by someone who is paid to do the job or by a relative, usually the grandparents, involved 18 of the 30 cases studied. This meant that the child was away from the parents either from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday to Friday or completely away from the parental home and only in contact with the parents on weekends. The practice of babyminding so that both parents can work is very widespread in Singapore. Thus a child may acquire a language other than that spoken at home from his babyminder.

Tape recordings were made by members or friends of the families in a variety of situations within the households over a period of two months. These were later transcribed and analyzed by students at NUS. The recordings that were made are only a small sample of the corpus of the child to adult, child to child language. It was decided that if an item appeared five times or more, it would be judged to be a regular feature of the individual's speech pattern at that time.

The present study concentrated on the lexico-grammatical items in English used by and with the child. This was because the main focus of the English Syllabus is on the lexico-grammatical features of English. This is not to say that the phonological patterns of Singaporean English are not important. The syllable-time rhythm gives what has been described by various writers as a machine-gun rhythm even among highly educated Singaporeans (Tay 1983). For example, final consonant clusters are often greatly reduced in S.E. to such an extent that the meaning of the utterance can be completely lost to someone not used to this variety of English.

The results were as follows::

(ex: C1 = child from case study 1
A30 = adult from case study 30)

1. **VERB "TO BE"** (dropping of the copula/auxiliary) before 'ing' constructions
   a) **PRE-Adj** (in Chinese and Malay the copula is not used before an adjective)
      ex: She very naughty C1
      Eh, 'anda' (egg) good for small boy A30
   b) **PRE-Pred Nominal**
      ex: There no light ah C6
      Then Superman clever or Batman clever? A15
   c) **PRE-locative**
      ex: This one in front also C5
      The tree here C14

d) **PRE-V-ing**

ex: I going to one friend's house C13
Next year you going which school? A30

C = 27/30 (90%)
A = 18/30 (60%) of the cases studied

2. **THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT TENSE MARKING** (There is no subject-verb agreement in Chinese or Malay)

ex: Who say no light? A6
My mother scold me C25
Then teacher say keep the toy, then all keep up already, then sit down and go home C7

C = 26/30 (87%)
A = 18/30 (63%) of the cases studied

3. **PAST TENSE MARKING** (Chinese and Malay have an aspectual system, in Singaporean English you have non-marking or variable marking of verbs)

a) **Vowel Change**

ex: He fly out. He never fly in. C9
Not handsome . . . who tell you that? A26

b) **Vowel** + d

ex: Then he say A14
I promise her C10

c) **Consonant** + d

ex: Finish ah? A5
No finish C5
Then you know what happen . . . C30

d) **Past tense: BE, GO, HAVE**

ex: You never been there A11
My tsae-tsae (sister) go to organ class, toyland C15
No after I finish then I hope. You talk first A27

C = 26 (87%)
A = 18 (60%) of the cases studied

4. **ASPECT MARKING** (because, as previously indicated Chinese and Malay have aspect systems rather than tense systems, it is not surprising to find features of an aspectual system in Singapore English)

a) **Already**

ex: No more already A1
No more cartoon already only two pages already A21
One day he sleeping in his house, you know, then nobody already lah C30

b) **Just now**

ex: But you eat your ice-cream already just now A23
No I go swimming just now C21

C = 21 (70%)
A = 20 (67%) of the cases studied

5. **GOT** (V-got: to obtain, to become similar to *can* (see below):
V-got: possessive (= have) or existential–locative denotations there is/are)

ex: Got blood or not? A1
Got sound or not? C3
Your mummy got beat you or not lah? A25
When I naughty then she got C25

C = 21 (70%)
A = 17 (57%) of the cases studied

6. **CAN/CANNOT** (used without the personal pronoun)

ex: You want the train, you want the table, everything you want, how can? A4
I want to write also cannot draw one! C25
Three also can. Anyone also can C12

C = 22 (73%)
A = 17 (57%) of the cases studied

7. **NOUN PHRASE**

a) **Noun Plurals** (In Chinese, plurality is marked, only where necessary by other lexical items. In Malay, plurality is marked, again only where necessary by reduplication)

ex: I have two glass of orange C4
Why don't you play snake and ladder with Winnie tsae-tsae A8
Five yellow duck C12
One worm and one worm, how many worm lah? A21

C = 16 (53%)
A = 12 (40%) of the cases studied

b) **Articles: Definite and Indefinite** (The definite or indefinite article does not always occur in S.E. in positions where it is obligatory in Standard British English (SBrE)

ex: That's not biscuit A1
One day big fox and big wolf go to little pig house C15

C = 23 (77%)
A = 18 (60%) omitted the def/indef article

c) **•Subject Pronouns** (omitted in Chinese and Malay when it is clear from the context – notably in reply)

ex: Afterwards can play marble A5
Because put inside pocket lah C19

C = 21 (70%)
A = 14 (47%) omitted subject pronoun

d) **Object Pronoun** (frequently omitted in S.E.)
ex: Bessy use for going down C3
You take out for me to see lah A12

C = 19 (63%)
A = 19 (63%) omitted the object pronoun

8. **OTHER STRUCTURAL DEVICES**

a) **Tag Questions** (S.E. has two invariant tags – is it/isn't it? with a rising intonation)
ex: Mummy got for you is it? A8
Crawl on the floor, is it? A22

C = 0
A = 22 (73%) used tag questions in this form

b) **Question forms without 'do'**
ex: Why you put the kangaroo there? A2
OK, Kanda what you like to play? C30

C = 13 (43%) used the question form where
A = 21 (70%) 'do' would be expected in SBrE

c) **Or Not** (used in a question form)
ex: Your ears have or not. You ears so big can hear or not? C7
Nice or not the T-shirt lah. T-shirt, T-shirt you buy nice or not? A9

C = 11 (37%) used or not in this question
A = 24 (80%) form

d) **What** (In Chinese 'wh' word is attached to the end of the sentence)
ex: Wait for me ah, you go on the stairs, you wait go here only what. C9
Lah, so hot, wear for what? A21

C = 14 (47%) used the 'what' particle attached
A = 17 (57%) to the end of the sentance

e) **One** (In S.E. 'one' is used as a personal pronoun, a possessive pronoun and as an indefinite article)
ex: The hairband lah, it the princess one, right? C3
Not English one ah, Chinese one ah, you go and show me English one A6
Yes lah, last time ah, sit one that one train C27

C = 27 (90%)
A = 16 (53%) used the 'one' particle

f) **Also** (In S.E. 'also' occurs in response to 'also can', and in a final position where 'too' would be expected in SBrE)

ex: This one also he got ah A9
I fight anyway also can one C16

C = 20 (67%)
A = 13 (43%) used 'also' in these forms

g) **Lah** (The 'lah' particle is used extensively in S.E. in informal speech – probably from Hokkien: Richards and Tay 1977)

ex: I wear hair cannot sleep lah C17
Ah, you don't know your age lah A24
The man got one many lah...he open lah C30

C = 22 (73%)
A = 16 (53%) used the 'lah' particle

Summary

1. The analysis of the tapes confirmed Platt and Weber's (1980) findings that the English spoken in the home is of the colloquial variety.
2. There was very little lectal-shifting in English, but more than one language was used in the household, particularly if the older generation was involved.
3. Many of the features of colloquial S.E. at this stage are common to the development of the pre-school child's language as found by Brown (1973) for first language, and Dulay and Burt (1974) for second language acquisition. These include:
   - the dropping of "TO BE" as copula or auxiliary before 'ing'
   - plurals
   - definite and indefinite article
   - past tense marking
   - third person singular present tense marking
   - use of telegraphic speech (dropping of pronoun as subject or object)
   - the tag question form although widely used in S.E. colloquial is not part of the child's speech corpus as yet.

   This last point seems to fit the Dulay and Burt hypothesis on an acquisition hierarchy. The child is not linguistically ready to assimilate the tag question form in English.
4. We also have to apply Brown's principle of "obligatory occasion" (Brown 1973). The child acquiring a language creates obligatory occasions for morphemes in his/her utterances but may not furnish the required forms. However, the caretaker model also does not use these forms (Tongue 1974, Crewe 1977, Platt and Weber 1980). This is what Tay (1982) describes as a "non-developmental lectal continuum.
5. Children from different ethnic backgrounds (Chinese, Malay or Tamil) showed little or no difference in their lexico-grammatical use of English. There was, however, a noticeable difference with the English of C2 and C10. In the first case the mother was Australian and in the second the child had lived three of its four years in the USA.

6. The difference between the three to four year-olds and the four to five year-olds was not significant on the items identified in this study although there were differences on more structurally complex forms of English (e.g., will/would which are confused in colloquial S.E.)

Conclusion

If the English Language Syllabus in Singapore stressed fluency rather than accuracy only, alternative approaches could be taken to the teaching of English for those children who are clearly fluent in English (see Appendix 1). Accuracy is a relative term as it is based on a social judgement of language used by a particular speech community at a point in time. When an idealized accuracy is set up on a model adapted from an EFL target model and used in an ESL or even EL1 situation, there are bound to be a number of problems. An approach stressing fluency which operates on a more oral basis of fluent and inaccurate language may be more effective for some children than a careful building up analytically to accurate items, according to a descriptive model. Too often inflexibility is trained through too close a reference to the descriptive model. An accuracy based syllabus is by definition a deficit syllabus for children, because it does not start from where the child is. The starting point is that of the prescriptive model (Brumfit 1979).

It could be argued that in Singapore there is a growing number of pre-school children who are already fluent in English, albeit a very colloquial variety of English. These children could benefit from a fluency focussed syllabus such as *The Breakthrough to Literary Scheme* (1978) which places the learner himself in continuous control of the language he is developing in order to read and write. Children gain confidence in using language because they are proceeding at their own rate, and because they are able to communicate their own ideas in writing, just as they do in speaking. There is the problem already indicated that many of the features of the pre-school child's language are maintained in adult colloquial S.E. But children will also learn that they have to adjust the manner and mode of communication to suit the context. Thus they will have to learn that to move along the language continuum a greater degree of flexibility will be required.

This does not mean that there is no place for a structural approach to language teaching in Singapore. There is still a large number of pre-school children whose dominant language on entering primary school is not English. They are very much in the ESL situation and a structural approach with a situational/functional component could be used (Strevens 1981, Gefen 1982). But even if accuracy like activities are aimed at the children, "the conversion of the tokens of the language thus learnt into value-laden systems with genuine communicative potential requires fluency activity in which the learners focus is on meaning rather than form" (Brumfit 1984:69).

What we are suggesting here is that since it is becoming increasingly common for children in Singapore to attend Mandarin and English medium kindergarten before entering primary school at the age of six, there is scope for introducing a Breakthrough to Literacy-type program and follow this up in the first years of primary school. This seems to be particularly true of the growing number of children who already use English in the home environment as indicated by the number of people under 30 years of age who use English as their dominant language.

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APPENDIX

SAMPLE 1
Excerpts From Transcripts

Name	Ng Chee Yong (Hokkien, Teochew, Mandarin, English)
Participants	C = Child A = Adult
Age	4 2
Date	14/10/82
Time	4:30 pm
Location	Sitting Room HDB Flat of Grandaunt
Activity	The child was watching a documentary on animals before the cartoon program 'Tom and Jerry.'

1 A : What is this?
2 C : Just now kangaroo ***/kaengelu:/*** lah
3 A : Ha? You like kangaroo?
4 C : Just now got kangaroo ***/kaengelu:/***
now got kang, kangaroo just now. Just
5 C : Ha? Now no more? You like the frog ah? What is this? Tortise?
6 A : Ah lór.[1]
7 C : You like tortise?
8 C : Don't like. I don't like old, old tortise lah. I like the very nice the tortise.
9 A : Ha? This one not nice ah?
10 C : ***/hŋ/*** I like very nice the frog also. Just now got snake, got?
11 A : Got snake. You like snake?
12 C : Don't like ah.
13 A : You sit here, you sit here.
14 C : Snake hőr[2], can ***/kin/*** can suck people one ah.
15 A : Snake can eat people ah?
16 C : */3:/*
17 A : Then, so you don't like snake.
18 C : Ah. Then this one ***/láe/***[3]?
19 A : What is this?
20 C : Then I don't know lah.
21 A : Trees, plants.
22 C : Plants. Little fly hőr[2] go and suck honey lái[4]
23 A : Ha? Where? Fly ah or bees?
24 C : This one ***/láe/***[3]
25 A : Cactus, cactus.
26 C : Aūn chúa[5] cactus?
27 A : See got sharp, shapr one like needles, can poke people.
28 C : Aūn chúa[5] like that one, cactus?
29 A : Don't know. Cactus grow in the desert, you know.

30 C : Desert ah?
31 A : Desert no water. . .
32 C : No water.
33 A : This cactus can keep water inside, can eat.
34 C : Can eat one ah.
35 A : */hm/*. What is this?
36 C : Flower.
37 A : Orchid.
38 C : Orchid. And then?
Tĩa bōey tióh[6] (He wanted the television to be turned on louder)

Footnotes

[1] *That's right*	*Hokkien*
[2] *about (= concerning)*	*Hokkien*
[3] *What about*	*Hokkien*
[4] *come*	*Hokkien*
[5] *Why?*	*Hokkien*
[6] *Cannot hear*	*Hokkien*

SAMPLE 2

Name Han Su Chien
Female Child
(Mandarin, Hainanese)

Participants C = Child (Han Su Chien)
A = Auntie
B = Brother

Age 4 0

Date 10/11/82

Time 12:30 pm

Location Sitting Room
HDB Flat of Grandparents

Activity This conversation is essentially between Su Chien and her brother but it seems to be more of a one way communication. She tries to act like an elder sister and gives her brother instructions on how to sit etc. Her grandmother is preparing lunch in the kitchen while her auntie is pretending to read a book while watching and recording their conversation at the same time.

1 C : Not not not like people like ghos(t) er you.
2 A : Su Chien kuái Jiàk míu[1] . . . .
3 C : (laugh) Ah boy sit down, ehm you listen very carefully ha boy. Your ears have or not, your ears so bic can hear or not?
4 B : ER

. . . .

5 C : Can hear me talk or not huh, you can hear but you can sit straigh'. You have bic ears you know ha you can bic ears or not. You have the bic ears then you mus(t) to tea. . . to tsae-tsae.

6 B : Heh Heh . . . .

7 C : Tsae-Tsae. Sit straigh(t) don'(t) stut ok, | sit straigh(t).

8 B : | Heh heh . . . .

9 C : Your eyes like ghos(t).

10 B : Ai yah

11 C : Your hands like ghos(t) ah is it, blac(k) (blac(k) one wha(t), you face also blac(k) blac(k) one er, your ears also. Neber wash your teeth, neber wash your face neber rin(se) your mouth. You see the rice also gets here already. Neber wipe your mouth, never bathe so dirty er you. You see you see the kōu [2] also wan(t) to lárk[3] already ha, you see you see the rice the the the the mouth also like °chék tū tū[4] er°.

12 : The mouth like chīk tū tū et, your ears also bic er, your hair your hair also don'(t) have one er, so little. Then bic girl huh, then you very fat are you huh siǎo pàng pàng[5] ah you, you like ghos(t) er you

13 B : Huh . . . .

Footnotes

[1] *Su Chien eat your porridge quickly*	*Hainanese*
[2] *trousers*	*Hainanese*
[3] *fall off*	*Hainanese*
[4] *little fatty*	*Hainanese*
[5] *little fatty*	*Mandarin*

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY LEVEL AND THE COMPREHENSION OF ANAPHORIC SUBJECT PRONOUNS BY BILINGUAL AND MONOLINGUAL CHILDREN*

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Research on second language acquisition in the last two decades has concentrated on the unique and predictable aspects of acquiring a second language. Teachers, however, are often left to themselves to incorporate research into practice and practical classroom realities. While we now understand creative construction (Burt and Dulay 1978), natural approaches (Krashen 1982), discourse and sentence syntax (Hatch 1983), and the role of language in schooling (Cummins 1982), little attention has been given to classroom application. Specifically, there is little or no research on how the comprehension of certain syntactic structures that appear with great frequency in the texts that bilingual (and monolingual) children are expected to read are affected by language proficiency level attained in either first or second language. One such structure is the anaphoric third person subject pronouns, e.g., he, she, it, they.

Comprehension of anaphoric reference by monolingual English-speaking children is an area of active linguistic research. C. Chomsky (1969) initiated studies of children's ability to comprehend pronominalization in oral language, and Barnitz (1980) and Richeck (1977) explored children's ability to comprehend pronominalization in written text. These studies elucidated some of the difficulties English-speaking monolingual children encounter with different types of forward and backward pronominalization, but little or no research has been carried out

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on the relationship of bilinguals proficiency level and the comprehension of these pronominal structures.

Language development in bilingual children has become the focus of study in education as well as linguistics. Prior to the 1960's, bilingualism was considered by many researchers to lead to mental confusion, mental fatigue, impaired intellectual development and school retardation, and ultimately to limited creative ability in entire ethnic groups (Manuel and Wright 1929, Mitchell 1937, Smith 1939, Weisgerber 1935).

According to Darcy (1953) many investigators overlooked the effects of schooling, social class, and economic background in selecting samples for their studies. Of even greater importance was the frequent omission of bilingual proficiency as an important research variable. In 1962 when Peal and Lambert controlled for these variables, they found that bilinguals demonstrated greater skill in dealing with abstract concepts and relations than did their monolingual counterparts. The research in bilingualism over the last decade demonstrated a positive relationship between bilingualism and cognitive development. Specifically, the research by Cummins (1980a,b,1982) illustrated that the degree of bilingual proficiency is a critical factor that affects other variables such as academic achievement. Other researchers (Ben-Zeev 1977, Cummins and Gulutsan 1974, Cummins and Mulcahy 1978) also discovered that bilinguals tested significantly higher in measures of reasoning and cognitive functioning than their monolingual counterparts.

In his study of the cognitive and linguistic functioning of bilinguals, Cummins (1980b) distinguished between two kinds of linguistic abilities: 1. *basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS)*, 2. *cognitive/academic linguistic proficiency (CALP)*. BICS are acquired by everyone in the first language regardless of IQ or academic aptitude. Cummins equates BICS with what N. Chomsky (1965) has pointed out are phonological, syntactical, and lexical skills necessary for everyday interpersonal contexts and are universal across native speakers. Though there are individual differences in the way speakers manifest these skills, for the most part they are not strongly related to cognitive or academic performance.

The other dimension of linguistic proficiency which has been labeled cognitive/academic is the language required for literacy in a context-free setting which includes reading comprehension and negotiation of meaning. Though BICS tend to reach a plateau at about age five or six, CALP continues to develop throughout the school years and beyond. The major difference between the two language proficiencies is that individual differences in CALP are strongly related to academic progress, whereas BICS are largely unrelated. In an L2 context, L2 CALP becomes similarly differentiated. These two language proficiency constructs were similarly corroborated in the research of Burt and Dulay (1978), Krashen (1978), and Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukumaa (1976).

In the area of pronominalization research, D'Amico (1978) and Richeck (1977) have demonstrated that anaphora is one of the most frequently found structures in school texts. Third person subject pronouns are the most common, appearing as early as in pre-primer texts. Halliday and Hasan (1976) stated that anaphora serves the function of giving cohesion to a text, and Nash-Webber (1977) points out the demands it makes upon the reader/listener in evaluative, pragmatic, semantic and syntactic processing.

One of the earliest researchers to explore the children's comprehension of pronominalization was C. Chomsky (1969). She found that in the acquisition of the pronoun-referent relations, children first hypothesize that pronouns follow antecedents (forward pronominalization). Backward pronominalization was troublesome to C. Chomsky's subjects (up to age 10). Van Metre (1978) and Berkovitz and Wigodsky (1979), working with theoretical constructs similar to C. Chomsky's, found conflicting results but confirmed the developmental aspects of pronominal comprehension.

While this cited research dealt with comprehension in an oral mode, other researchers such as Barnitz (1980), Bormuth et al. (1970), Lesgold (1974), and Richeck (1977) examined comprehension in written text. Barnitz discovered that while children acquired backward pronominalization by grade 6, most of the children in his study had mastered forward pronoun reference by the fourth grade. Although Lesgold's and Bormuth's et al. work produced contradictory results, it showed pronominalization to be difficult for fourth graders. Richeck found that the frequency of anaphora in school texts did not increase comprehensibility.

Another factor contributing to a reader's difficulty with the comprehension of anaphora is its context-reduced nature, a feature of language proficiency studied by Cummins and his colleagues. Cummins et al. (1982) view language proficiency as a continuum that includes context-embedded and context-reduced language. Context-embedded language reduces the need for explicit elaboration in the usage since the interpersonal involvement has a shared reality. Context-reduced language does not make such assumptions. In language forms that are context dependent the linguistic message must be precisely and explicitly elaborated to minimize any possible misinterpretation. The clues are semantic rather than contextual. These same features are important factors in the comprehension of anaphora.

The demanding nature of anaphora involves the synthesis of syntactic and semantic clues as well as a child's individual rate of development. The task of reading and comprehending viewed as context-reduced includes cognitive demands. From this perspective it would be a reasonable expectation that: (1) bilinguals would understand anaphoric third-person subject pronouns in the backward and forward position better than their monolingual peers, and (2) bilinguals would achieve this at an earlier age.

Subjects

The initial subject pool for this study consisted of 300 students: 133 bilingual and 167 monolingual. They were drawn from two schools located in Queens, New York, and a town in Nassau County, New York. The students were all fourth graders, ages 9-10. The Queens school was in a district with a Hispanic population made up of Dominicans, Colombians, and Argentinians. The Spanish-speaking population in the Nassau County district was over 50% Puerto Rican with the remaining Hispanic children from various Central and South American countries.

The final sample consisted of four groups: (1) high proficient Spanish-English bilinguals; (2) partial proficient Spanish-English bilinguals; (3) high proficient English monolinguals; and (4) partial proficient English-monolinguals. These groups were chosen by a stratified random sampling technique using level of CALP as the major criterion (described in greater detail under Materials). Students in the population who were left back, were older than 9-10 years, or were Spanish-dominant were deleted from the initial selection pool.

Fourth grade level was chosen because previous research has indicated that monolingual children of that grade encounter difficulty comprehending anaphoric pronouns (Barnitz 1982; C. Chomsky 1969; Richeck 1977). For fourth grade bilinguals it was not known whether anaphoric pronouns are equally difficult. Bormuth et al. (1970) have pointed out that the instruction of reading comprehension and its daily practice begin in earnest at this level in school; thus, a study at this grade level was thought to be relevant. Additionally, Cummins (1976) postulated that in the early grades in a bilingual program, little cognitive retardation related to school functioning would be observed. He posited that a child's interaction with his world at this age, and consequently his cognitive development, is less language dependent than in the later grades.

Materials

The vocabulary and reading comprehension subtests of the *Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills* (CTBS/S) were administered to all subjects and were used to select different levels of cognitive academic linguistic proficiency (CALP) as defined by Cummins (1980a,b, 1982). Based on the percentile scores obtained, the high and partial proficient levels were determined for both bilingual and monolingual groups—67th or above percentile for the high proficient groups, and 34th—50th percentile for the partial groups. Similar subtests of vocabulary and reading comprehension of the *Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills/Español (CTBS/Español)* were used to establish the Spanish scores which had to fall within the SAME percentile range as on the English CTBS/S. Subjects had to fall within the same range on both the Spanish and English tests in order to qualify for inclusion in the sample pool.

The Measures of Anaphoric Pronouns (MAP) Test was the instrument that tested the comprehension of the forward and backward, inter- and intra-sentential third-person subject pronouns. The previous anaphora studies used artificial instruments designed to test the specific research hypotheses. I chose to use actual school text because that was the material that children were expected to read and comprehend. No passages were taken from any texts used in the schools where the actual testing was carried out.

After reviewing many fourth grade level texts, 25 passages were initially selected. These were narrowed to 11 after validation for appropriateness by three reading experts as well as a feasibility study with a group of fourth graders. The feasiblity study on the test items produced a reliability score of .916 on the KR21. Additionally, the test passages were further analyzed using the *Syntactic Complexity Formula* (Botel, Dawkins, and Granowsky 1973) to ensure that the passages were neither syntactically different from one another nor too complex. Passages that produced too low or too high a syntactic complexity score were screened out. The final passages were then arranged from lowest to highest score with the exception of one passage. Although it had the lowest syntactic complexity score, the children in the feasibility study recommended that it be placed last because it was the longest of all the passages, and surprisingly proved to be the most difficult for all the children tested. (Further discussion found in results in section).

The *MAP* Test contained a total of 101 test pronouns distributed naturally as follows: (1) 64 forward inter-sentential pronouns (FIE); (2) 12 forward intra-sentential (FIA); (3) 20 backward inter-sentential (BIE); and (4) 5 backward intra-sentential (BIA). The distribution of these pronouns was the result of using school texts rather than texts specifically designed to control each type of anaphora.

After the final testing the 80 completed tests were subjected again to a KR21 for internal reliability. The computed coefficient was .98.

Test format

The 11 passages (lettered A – K) were presented in a booklet form, each passage on a separate page with a corresponding answer sheet. In every passage each pronoun (he, she, it, they) had a number over it. The numbers were sequential within the passage. For example:

1. 2.
A. Tommy drank his juice after *he* got up. Then *he* brushed his teeth.

The children were asked to write out the referent on the answer sheet. For the sentence above the children will have written in the answer sheet booklet the following answers in the following manner:

A. 1. Tommy
2. Tommy

The children were instructed to write out the word or group of words that they thought was the referent for the pronoun. Several sample questions were given as practice in order to ensure comprehension of the test style.

Scoring

A correct response was the word or any part of a group of words which comprised the referent for the pronouns "he", "she", and "it". In the case of the pronoun "they," however, a response was scored correct only when it included all the antecedents. A correct response counted as 0; an omission, half a response, or incorrect answer counted as 1. Since only wrong answers were tallied, the raw scores are the totals of wrong answers.

Findings

This study explored two independent variables and four dependent variables. The two-way Analysis of Variance was utilized to compare the mean scores within each dependent variable and to determine whether there was interaction between level of proficiency and inclusion in the bilingual and monolingual group. The minimum level of significance was set at the .05 level.

Of the 12 null hypotheses tested, 8 were retained. These hypotheses tested differences between bilinguals and monolinguals on the four dependent variables as well as interaction between language proficiency and lingualism. However, the four null hypotheses that explored differences between proficiency levels were rejected because they were found to be highly significant at the .001 level on three of the four dependent variables (FIE, BIE, BIA); the calculated F value for the remaining variable (FIA) was significant at the .05 level.

Supplementary analysis of the raw data revealed that the pronoun "it" was the most difficult for all four groups regardless of proficiency level. This pronoun appeared in the FIE position 14 times while in the FIA position only 6 times. The results of the answers to the "it" category are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Percentage of Incorrect Responses for the Pronoun "It" in the Forward Inter-sentential Category

	A6*	D4	K10	K12	B7	I7	B9	D11	I4
HBa	.80	.70	.80	.85					
PBb	.75	.85	1.00	1.00	.70	.55			
HMc	.80	.55	.55	.80					
PMd	.70	.85	.95	1.00	.80	.75	.75	.50	.60

*Letters refer to specific stories that were lettered A–K, numbers are answers within stories.
a–High Bilingual, b-Partial Bilingual, c–High Monolingual, d–Partial Bilingual

"It" also appeared three times in the BIA category and not at all in the BIE position. The results indicated that in both Partial groups 70% of all children were incorrect and in one answer 100% of all the children in the four groups scored incorrect answers.

Raw data analysis further showed that the pronoun "they" appeared six times in the FIE position and only once in the BIE position. All four groups had an average 76% answering incorrectly on at least one of the questions. In the only BIE category tested, an average 85% of the children's answers were incorrect.

A pronounced difficulty with the pronoun "they" became apparent in analyzing the responses to the story with the lowest syntactic complexity score. Although the pronoun "they" appears in the first sentence, it does not resolve until 24 sentences later and it occurs in two stages. Half of the specific referent, "Stevie", is identified within the first three sentences; "Stevie's mother", the other half of "they", becomes "she" and is repeated seven times prior to her actual identification. Over 50% of the children in three of the four groups gave incorrect answers. The partial monolinguals had the greatest difficulty. The high monolingual group, however, had 45% answering incorrectly. Seven of the answers resulted in a mean score of 67% incorrect. The initial reference to "they" had an 85% error factor.

The raw data were then collapsed into groups and categories (Table 2). It becomes evident from Table 2 that the high monolingual group had the lowest percentage of incorrect answers on every category and fractionally outscored their matched bilingual counterparts. In both inter-sentential categories the order of scoring from lowest to highest was high monolingual, high bilingual, partial bilingual, and partial monolingual.

TABLE 2
Total Raw Scores Incorrect Responses and
Percentage for Each Anaphora Category

	FIE (a)		FIA (b)		BIE (c)		BIA (d)	
	TI*	P*	TI	P	TI	P	TI	P
HB (e)	183	.14	51	.21	128	.32	40	.49
HM (f)	146	.11	42	.18	106	.27	39	.39
PB (g)	326	.25	79	.33	202	.50	51	.51
PM (h)	350	.27	77	.32	231	.58	46	.46

(a) FIE: possible total incorrect 1280
(b) FIA: possible total incorrect 140
(c) BIE: possible total incorrect 400
(d) BIA: possible total incorrect 100
(e) High Bilingual, (f) High Monolingual, (g) Partial Bilingual, (h) Partial Monolingual
*TI = total incorrect
P = percentages

This table also indicates that the BIA category, which had a frequency of only five appearances, was nevertheless a more difficult concept than FIE which appeared 64 times. This was true for both bilinguals and monolinguals.

Conclusions

The results of this study do not lend strong support to the premise that bilingualism is a factor in comprehending the types of anaphora tested in this investigation. Reading levels (CALP) appear to be the strongest element. The average percentile reading score for the high monolinguals was 88.35 and 79.15 for the high bilinguals. The high monolinguals had the smallest number of incorrect responses for all four anaphora categories with an average of 24% incorrect to the bilinguals 27%. The 9 percentile points that separated the two groups did not produce a comparable score discrepency on the *MAP* test since both groups were already high proficient CALP groups and were significantly better readers than their partial proficient fourth-grade peers whose percentile reading scores were 44.75 for the bilinguals and 41.25 for the monolinguals, respectively. However, on the backward inter-sentential and intra-sentential categories of anaphora, all readers, regardless of level, scored equally poorly. The results are not definitive, but it can be concluded reasonably that with reference to the BIE and BIA categories developmental factors exercise a strong influence in anaphora comprehension. Similar findings were also important in the work of Barnitz (1980), C. Chomsky (1969), and Cole (1974).

Implications

This research found that bilingual children have the same difficulty with anaphora as their monolingual counterparts. In the comprehension of the pronouns tested, partial language proficiency was not a hindrance. In fact, bilingual children had a slight advantage over their matched partial monolingual counterparts. A likely intepretation of these data is that a high CALP level (possessed by both monolingual and bilingual children) was one important factor in the corresponding scores on the *MAP* test.

An implication this investigation points to is the role of antecedent-referent construction. One of the test passages asks the reader to store the information necessary for resolution for 24 consecutive sentences. In reading materials with this particular configuration, children will certainly recognize the grammatical construction of the written passages, but the semantic comprehension or experiential background they need for comprehending this antecedent-referent relationship may be lacking. The children may know or understand the rules of grammar, but they do not yet know the interpretative rules required to understand anaphoric reference. This particular feature highlights the weakness in readability and syntactic complexity formulas. The separation of noun and pronoun is not measurable by formulas. This makes the prediction of comprehensibility of reading materials with this type of syntactic construction difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. This is evidenced by the fact that of the 101 questions tested only one was answered correctly by all 80 children.

The importance of developmental factors (Barnitz 1980, C. Chomsky 1969) and reading levels (Van Metre 1978) in comprehension of anaphora were also found in this study. Anaphora touches many fields, from psychology (language acquisition and memory) to linguistics (grammatical constraints). It would appear that because of these factors anaphora comprehension is not accelerated in bilingual children. Though grammatically easy to recognize semantically, anaphora requires developmental readiness for the children to understand what is being anaphorized. More research is certainly recommended.

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THE ESL NOISE TEST: CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN AFFECT AND PERFORMANCE

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Most language teaching takes place in situations where full attention is given the speaker and where acoustic conditions are optimal. This is in sharp contrast to natural language interactions where many people are often speaking simultaneously, where attention shifts, and noise is an integral part of the situation. In fact, noise is as natural a part of language use as the speech signal itself.

The ability to understand spoken language under the constraints of background noise is an important component of language proficiency, one likely to vary between groups of learners to the extent that past experience and environment affect the skill. For example, in intercultural classrooms such as ours at BYU-Hawaii, students from small communities on peaceful Pacific islands have had vastly different auditory experiences than their classmates from crowded Asian cities, such as Hong Kong, Seoul or Tokyo. It may be that their tolerance for background noise and their ability to deal with it in language-use situations differs as well. The present study explores this possibility as it compares group reactions to and performance on aural language tests with noise background.

The development of such noise tests in the past has been motivated by a search for measures of overall language proficiency, rather than by any questions related to cultural differences in language learners. In the late sixties Spolsky and his colleagues conducted experiments in which sentences involving the discrimination of certain sound contrasts were presented with white noise at various signal to noise ratios (Spolsky et al. 1968). Subjects were instructed to write down the sentences they heard. Scores on these dictation noise tests correlated rather highly with general measures of language proficiency, prompting Spolsky et al. to suggest that the technique could be used as a measure of listening comprehension as well as an efficient and economical measure of general language ability.

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In response to criticisms that the Spolsky experiments tested "language-like behavior" and not language behavior itself (Johannson 1973), new contextualized versions of the noise test were developed in the mid-seventies (Whiteson and Seliger 1975, Gaies, Gradman and Spolsky 1977). These were found to effectively differentiate native and non-native speakers of English, to correlate reasonably well with other measures of language proficiency, and to be particularly effective in the discrimination of weak and strong non-native speakers of English.

Issues concerning a possible affective bias in the noise test were raised by a two-year study using a modified version of Spolsky's sentences heard against white noise in which Johannson (1973) found that the reactions of some students to the test were very negative. Therefore, he concluded that noise test results for them are questionable since a low score may be caused by factors unrelated to language proficiency. Similar observations of unusually high anxiety associated with the noise tests has also been reported by other researchers (Whiteson and Seliger 1975, Gaies et al. 1977). Such anxiety in testing situations has a substantial effect on test performance (Madsen 1982, Azpeitia 1982) and may differ significantly in magnitude among cultural groups. A study by Barabasz (1970) reported that American blacks exhibit greater test anxiety than do Caucasians in American schools. Subsequent work contrasting the test anxiety experienced by American blacks with West Indies blacks found the latter much less test anxious (Bronzaft et al. 1974). Two recent investigations of reactions to ESL tests indicate that Japanese students exhibit greater negative reactions to a number of English tests than do Spanish speakers (Madsen 1982, Scott and Madsen 1983).

In the abundant literature on test anxiety, a distinction is made between trait and state anxiety; trait anxiety refers to a stable characteristic of personality, while state anxiety refers to transitory characteristics which fluctuate in response to different stimuli (Tobias et al. 1972, Spielberger 1966). Cultural differences in the level of state anxiety experienced by students in response to ESL noise tests are of interest in the present study.

A second area of focus in this investigation is the differential performance profiles of cultural groups on the noise tests in comparison with other ESL measures. In previous research, such profiles have been found to vary significantly among groups (Hisama 1980, Farhady 1982, Hansen forthcoming) indicating differing strengths and weaknesses on various language tests according to cultural background. Farhady (1982) compared 800 foreign students who took the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination. ANOVA's performed on each of six subtests showed F values significant at the .01 level, indicating that the relative performances of students from different countries on the subtests differed by group.

Such group tendencies are examined in the present study as answers are sought to the questions: 1. Does the text anxiety associated with ESL noise tests vary significantly between cultural groups? 2. Does performance on aural language tests presented with background noise, in relation to performance on other language measures, vary significantly between cultural groups?

METHOD

Subjects

A total of 66 students who completed final examinations in the English Language Institute at BYU-Hawaii Campus during December of 1983 participated in the study. Cultural groups represented in the sample were Chinese from Hong Kong (N = 24), Japanese (N = 10), Korean (N = 11), South Pacific Islands (N = 21; 5 Samoan, 5 Tongan, 11 Micronesian). The Asian students all came from cities with a population of over one million. Students were from the four proficiency levels of the ELI program, and had scores ranging from 54 to 88 on the *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency*.

Materials and Procedures

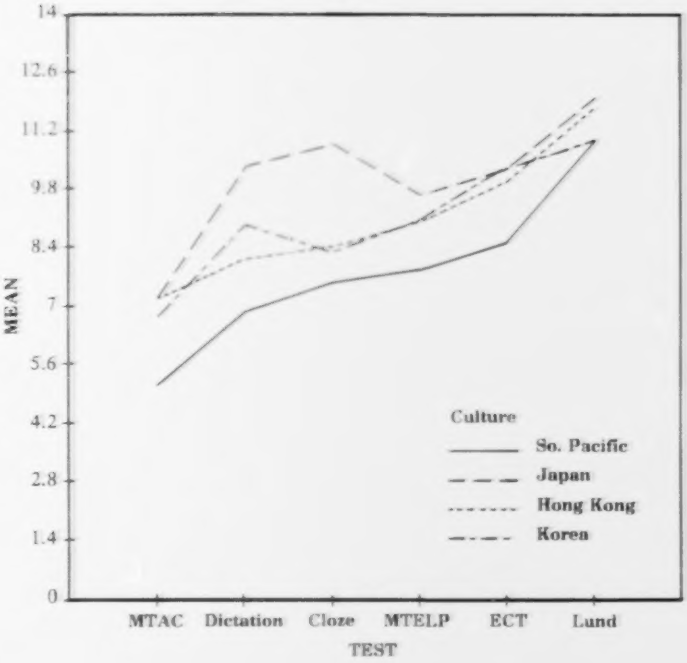
Two noise tests were used in the study: the noise dictation developed by Johannson (1973) in Lund, Sweden, and the Embedded Conversations Test (ECT) developed in Hawaii. The Lund Test consists of isolated sentences heard against a background of white noise at four different signal to noise ratios varying between +10 db and ±0 db. Students are instructed to write each of the sentences they hear on an answer sheet. The English version of the ECT used in this study consists of 12 short dialogues heard against a background of conversation and party noise, six of them mixed at a +3 db average signal to noise ratio and six at a +0 db average ratio. After listening to each of the conversations on the test, the subject writes down the last sentence heard, and then answers multiple choice questions on the content of the conversation. There are 12 dictated sentences and 20 multiple choice questions in all. The noise tests were administered in December 1983 as part of the final exam battery for fall semester in the reading classes of the English Language Institute (BYU-Hawaii). Other exams administered during the same week which are used for comparison in the present study are the *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency*, the *Michigan Test of Aural Comprehension*, a written cloze test (with every seventh word deleted and scored by acceptable synonym method), a dictation test (read three times, the second with pauses for writing), and a speaking evaluation consisting of three subtests given on three separate days, each rated by a different pair of examiners: (1) a three minute speech which the student had prepared, (2) reading of a prepared passage, (3) interaction with examiners focusing on a picture.

Some of the exams were required for students only in particular skill classes (MTAC for listening classes, speaking evaluation for speaking classes, dictation and cloze test for reading classes). Since a few students who took the noise tests were not required to enroll for all of the four skill courses, some variations in N sizes among the tests was unavoidable.

Following the completion of these tests (except the speaking evaluations), the students were given a three-item state anxiety questionnaire adapted from the Jones-Madsen Affect Questionnaire (Jones and Madsen 1980, Scott and Madsen 1983). Responses were on a five-point Likert-type scale (ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") on the following statements: (1) I liked the test, (2) This test was difficult, (3) I felt pleasant (happy, calm) during this test.

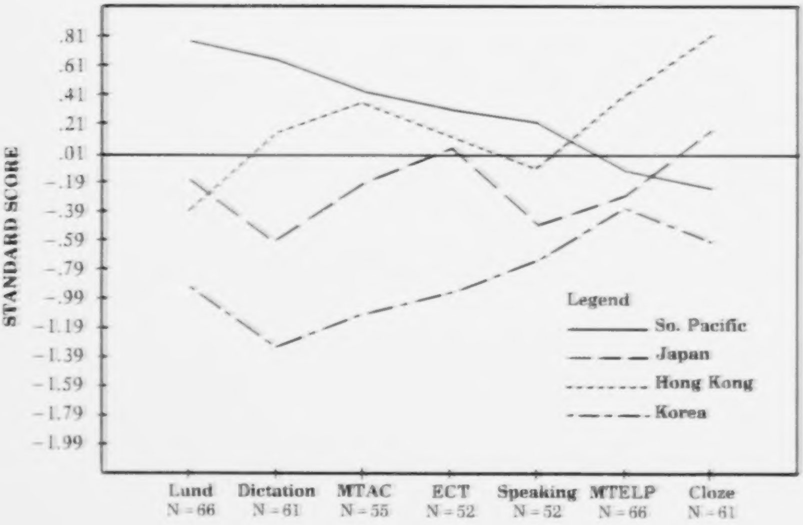
State anxiety ratings of the English noise tests and four other proficiency measures are shown by culture in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
State Anxiety Ratings by Culture
for the Noise Tests
and Other ESL Tests



As a group, the South Pacific island students appear to be least anxiety prone in language testing situations, and in accordance with previous ESL research (Madsen 1982) the Japanese, the most anxiety prone. The differences among the groups in anxiety associated with the noise tests (Lund and ECT) were not, however, statistically significant. Of all the ESL measures the noise tests were the most anxiety producing for each of the groups tested. They were the only measures on an absolute scale that consistently registered in the +Anxiety range (above 9.0) as defined by Madsen (1982). The test results for each culture were converted to standard scores in order to facilitate group comparisons of performance on the seven ESL measures used in the present study. These data (Figure 2) show performance profiles which differ significantly among groups as indicated by one way ANOVAs, below the .01 level for the *MTAC*, ECT and cloze test, and below the .001 level for the Lund and dictation tests. The performance profiles, however, fail to support a hypothesis that urban Asians have an advantage over South Pacific islanders on language tests presented with background noise.

FIGURE 2
Performance by Culture
on the Noise Tests
and Other ESL Tests



On the contrary, the performance of the island students on the noise tests is high in comparison to other ESL measures. Among the Asian groups the Japanese scores on the Lund and ECT are also quite high in relation to the other tests. The Hong Kong and Korean noise test scores, on the other hand, are comparatively low among their ESL test scores. Thus, although there are significant group differences in success on the noise tests, they are not in the expected direction. The rural South Pacific students not only report less (though not significantly less) anxiety in noise testing situations than their urban Asian classmates, but they also tend to score higher on the noise tests in relation to their scores on the other ESL measures.

These data tend to confirm teacher impressions (James 1983) and pilot research findings (Hansen forthcoming) at the English Language Institute (BYU-Hawaii) that the Asian students are relatively stronger in literacy skills, while the South Pacific students have an advantage in the oral component of language. Scores for the South Pacific students on the two written tests (the *MTELP* and the cloze) are consistently below those on the tests which include the spoken modality, including the noise tests. These island students, from cultures characterized by strong oral traditions, tend to score higher on tests which involve listening and speaking than they do on tests confined to the written word. A reverse is apparent for the Hong Kong and Korean students on the other hand. They score higher on the *MTELP* and cloze than on any of the other language tests. It may be that while the rural/urban dichotomy fails as an explanatory variable in the differential group performance on noise tests, the values and traditions of a culture related to oral and literacy skills are influential factors in determining such variation in test performance across groups.

The need for further investigation of cultural differences in second language learning and testing is indicated from these preliminary findings. Confirmation from future research of consistent group strengths and weaknesses in performance on various types of language tests would have important implications for ESL test selection and interpretation. The use of scores from a single test such as the *MTELP* or cloze, as the sole instrument for placement in an ESL program, could put some groups at a disadvantage in the assessment of their overall English ability, as would apparently be the case for the South Pacific students in this study.

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AFFECT IN THE "COMMUNICATIVE" CLASSROOM: A MODEL*

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The study of affect as a predictor of human behavior has developed rapidly in this century (e.g., Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957). The importance of "affective" variables to second language learning theory, however, was generally not recognized or at least researched systematically until the late 1960's. A wide range of affective constructs, such as attitude, anxiety, motivation, self-esteem, ethnocentricity, social distance, ego permeability, and culture shock have been investigated searching for results, causes or correlates of success in second language learning (see Gardner 1980, Brown 1973, 1980 for summaries of that research).

The term "affect" is used here in a technical sense (see Guiora 1972) to refer to the subjective dimension of our emotions. For example, affect is said to be the relatively amorphous "feeling" attached, in some degree, to every concept constructed by a human mind. As it is generally described in the psychological literature, affect cannot be totally comprehended or defined by consciousness (in part because affect attached to one concept will, by definition, overlap with that attached to related concepts). One important issue in this paper is the *extent* to which affect can be described systematically and altered in language teaching.

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(Note also that the relationship between affect, attitude and motivation is essentially hierarchical: Affect is part of attitude, just as attitude, in turn, is a basic component of motivation.)

The focus on affect in second language acquisition and pedagogy has been fruitful, but it has not met expectations on several counts. A basic premise of this paper is that, although the relative importance of affect to second language learning may have been highly exaggerated by some, we must now be careful not to throw out the "affective baby" with the "non-directive, Rogerian Bath." In that regard, the central concern of the model presented here is a better understanding of the relationship between affect and cognition in language teaching. In developing that model I will review some relatively recent affect-related studies and examine applications of that research for the ESL curriculum designer and classroom teacher, given our current theoretical, "communicative" climate.

Affect and Context

Research has consistently pointed to the importance of the attitudes of those with whom the learner associates inside and outside of the classroom and the learner's perception of attitudes in the larger target-language environment. Studies following from the Gardner and Lambert (1972) paradigm have identified strong attitudinal effects related to one's instructor, classmates, parents, or classes in society (e.g., Gardner, Smythe, Clement and Gliksman 1976). Although not as empirically based, Schumann's (1978) "social distance," representing the socio-psychological effect of group attitudes and exclusiveness, figures prominently in his arguments for the similarity of second language learning to pidginization.

By focusing attention on the attitudes of society, we as a professional organization are becoming better able to work at changing root causes of failure in language learning, whether they be in the social milieu, the home or in Congress. Attitude research has provided one of the best sources of support for various programs in bilingual education (see Troike 1978). Likewise, the arguments relating to the use of immersion programs turn crucially on the question of community attitudes (see Swain 1984).

Optimal language learning attitude and motivation may not be the same in all contexts. In some situations an integrative motive seems to serve the learner best; in others, an instrumental motive may be better (see Gardner and Lambert 1972; Lukmani 1972). In Acton (1979), for instance, some of the learners indicating the strongest values on the integration scale were the least successful: those claiming to be *both* strongly integrative and instrumental tended to be the more proficient. Similarly, a good "attitude" does not insure success in language learning. Oller, Baca and Vigil (1977) demonstrated that in some contexts a *negative* attitude toward the target culture or some sub-group may correlate with higher proficiency.

For the classroom such seemingly contradictory results suggest that optimal attitude and motivation can still be determined in some general way but may be quite context-dependent, a function of the individual learner and the situation.

Research Methodology

An important advance in the last ten years in language acquisition research in general, and research in affective variables in particular has been the move away from *uni*-variate to *multi*-variate analyses and models. No one would report on a study today where only the integrative/instrumental dimension (or just one notion of attitude) was "measured" without including a constellation of other related variables as well. We understand that there is generally a substantial amount of overlap in variance accounted for among affective variables.

A good example of this change in perspective is evident in a comparison of Suter (1976) with Purcell and Suter (1980). In Suter (1976) 20 different predictor variables (five being "affective" in nature) were correlated with pronunciation authenticity, one-on-one, with 12 showing significance at the .01 level or better. In Purcell and Suter (1980), however, a multiple regression was used on the same data (as in Purcell 1976). The result was that only four variables appeared to be contributing significantly to the main effect: accurate pronunciation. Given the measurement techniques used, eight of the twelve "significant" factors from the first study were shown to be nondiscrete; they were virtually identical in their ability to predict pronunciation authenticity, adding nothing to the predictive power of the overall research instrument. Of the original 20 variables there were few that did not seem *intuitively* to have a significant influence on pronunciation or be good predictors of pronunciation authenticity; there were only about four independent underlying effects.

That attitudes attached to related concepts may "overlap" considerably is well established (see Osgood, May and Miron 1975). Whatever attitude a learner has toward the target language may influence to a significant degree the attitude toward the culture. Similarly, we would expect that attitude toward the language might affect attitude toward learning. As Savignon (1972) and others have demonstrated, proficiency and attitude are interrelated: attitude may ultimately determine attained proficiency but, conversely, proficiency also affects attitude. Heyde (1979) found something analogous in studying the relationship between language learning and self-esteem; those with high self-esteem tend to be better learners, and as one's competence improves, self-esteem tends to be enhanced accordingly.

There are any number of factors that may underlie subjects' performance on questionnaires requiring self-reports of affect. Oller and Perkins (1978) identify several ways in which responses may be "contaminated" by factors such as expectation of what the tester wants, self-flattery, understanding of the question, and "response set" (i.e., subjects tend to give answers in the same "manner" throughout a test). Oller and Perkins argue convincingly that such factors may account for a great deal of the variance in attitude/proficiency studies. There are still, nonetheless, serious unresolved methodological issues involved in attempts to measure or discount the importance of affective variables in second language learning (see Gardner 1980, Oller 1982, and Gardner and Gliksman 1982).

Following in part from the above outlined research the relative importance of affect (vis-a-vis cognition) in second language pedagogy has shifted over the course of the last six to eight years (at least in the U.S.). It has been a "given" for many that affective variables such as attitude and motivation were *the* most powerful determinants of success in learning *anything*, not just language. That is not to say that conscious, cognitive structuring of the classroom experience has not been attended to; only that in understanding and attempting to influence learning, many chose to address affect first, giving it precedence over cognitive considerations within an overall approach and method.

Curran probably represents the most coherent statement of that AFFECTIVE → COGNITIVE directionality:

> . . .We wanted some kind of *total experience*, not simply an "intellectual" one.
>
> In our attempt to accomplish this, we took as our model *the affect-cognitive intercommunication* that seems to constitute a basic aspect of the counseling relationship. One of the functions of the counseling response is to relate affect, emotional, instinctive, or somatic, to cognition. Understanding the language of affect, or "feelings," the counselor responds in the language of cognition. . .(1976:153).

In Counseling Language Learning (CLL) a fundamental concept is that we must attend to affect *first*, that the affect-related needs of the learner must be met. What makes CLL somewhat unique is that methodologically it uses affect-centered activities such as talking about feelings and self-esteem a central agenda in generating talk and language tokens, language structure and lexicon being decidedly secondary and generally "post hoc."[1]

This notion of seeing affect as the "way in" to language teaching, an assumption (often implicit) in the writing of proponents of various approaches and methods, has been discussed and criticized extensively (see Clarke 1982).

What seems to me to be a more promising model for language teaching is evident in Hamilton (1983). He and many others (see Walker de Felix forthcoming) argue that reported data on affective states must be thought of as being *ontogenetically* cognitive: *access* to feelings as we attempt to verbalize them (e.g., answering a questionnaire) or even think about them is almost entirely cognitive-symbolic. We experience and express our feelings and attitudes only by means of and through symbolic systems (cognitive schemas and languages). Hamilton's cognitive-processing perspective strongly emphasizes the role played by our socially-derived conceptual apparati in determining what we "feel," whether it be pain or any form of emotional response. The corrollary of that position is that our initial approach to altering "feelings" ought to be back through those same affect-controlling/interpreting cognitive-semantic networks. Moreover, perception of and change in affect is said to be always dependent upon and *follow* some level of cognitive processing.[2]

Figure 1: Cognitive and Affective Dimensions of Self-Reports of Affect represents what seems to me to be the view of affect that is emerging today from various disciplines.

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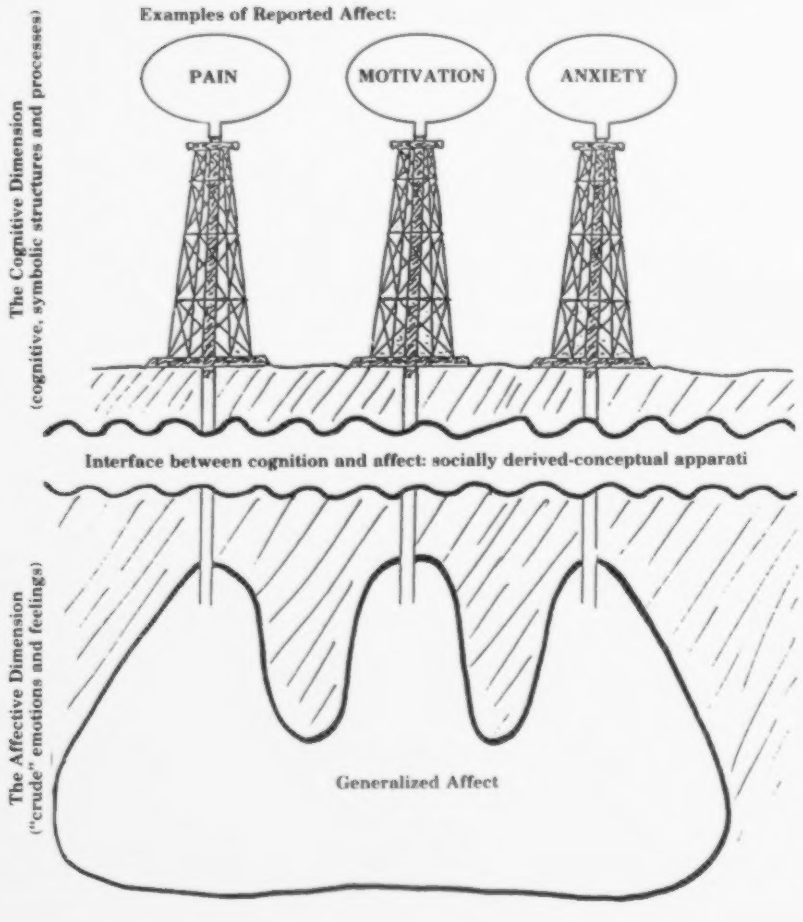
[1] This is not intended as a criticism of CLL, by any means. As Stevick (1980) points out, CLL is an extraordinarily powerful and effective approach under appropriate conditions. It does, however, have relatively limited applicability (see, Brown 1977).

[2] This is also probably the case in so-called "right-brain" oriented approaches (see Lozanov 1979). There is little evidence that the left hemisphere, the seat of more cognitive, analytic functions, is significantly less involved when right-brain exercises such as visualization or music or physical movement are engaged in, only that the right hemisphere may be more involved or active. In other words, the cognitive-analytic centers are still contributing significantly to the interpretation of that experience. Perhaps we cannot avoid left hemisphere involvement but we can enhance right hemisphere-like functions.

FIGURE 1
Cognitive and Affective Dimensions
of Self-Reports of Affect


The Cognitive Dimension
(cognitive, symbolic structures and processes)
Examples of Reported Affect:
PAIN
MOTIVATION
ANXIETY
Interface between cognition and affect: socially derived-conceptual apparati
The Affective Dimension
("crude" emotions and feelings)
Generalized Affect

This oil field metaphor was suggested by fellow Texans, Bernadette and Brian McKinney (personal communication). It vividly depicts the model being developed here: (1) our perception of affect (whether our own or by reports from others) is very much dependent upon the cognitive structures constituting our belief systems (represented by the derricks here!) (2) although something of our "feelings" related to one object will probably be rather specific (i.e., the "humps" in the "affective" oil dome), there is a larger underlying "pool" of affect/emotion that allows great transference from one object to another. (The notion of transference of emotional loadings is a basic concept in most forms of psychotherapy.)

One important implication of that model for second language teaching is that good attitudes are fostered more by effective learning and "successful" behavior than by conscious attention to attitude "rehabilitation" – independent of specific content – as an educational objective. The so-called "affective taxonomy" (Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia 1964) should not be seen as conceptually on a par with schema of cognitive abilities (Bloom 1956). It is a matter of directionality as mentioned earlier. This suggests that in teaching our "way in" ought to be through cognitively-oriented activities with significantly less formal attention paid to affective variables (e.g., rapport, attitude, empathy) in isolation. Hamilton (1983) argues that affective concerns must be fully integrated into central cognitive processing, in effect doing away with the entire cognitive-affective dichotomy. There is an obvious parallel here to the integration of language teaching with "content" instruction (see Widdowson 1978).

The "Way In"

A friend recently reported on a training program he had completed in selling industrial equipment. He was given what were said to be the six secrets of successful selling, listed in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

The Six Secrets of Successful Selling
(Listed in order of importance)

Customers want to hear five things:

1) That the product will *make* them money;
2) That it will *save* them money;
3) That it will make them *look* better;
4) That it will make them *feel* better;
5) That it will improve their sex lives;
6) Underlying all others:
   Selling is at least 90% emotional.

The analogy between successful selling of equipment and successful selling of ESL methods and materials aside, there is for contemporary language teaching methodology another more interesting application of those principles: the relatively greater importance of cognitive – as distinct from "affective" – variables in accounting for successful learning and teaching. (Note how the "principles" become more and more affective in nature as you proceed from one to six.)

Not long ago we were being told something analogous to the sixth assertion: that getting students to learn language was about 90% attitude. Even if that were the case, it does not necessarily mean that our primary tasks ought to be simply to change attitudes.

For the last year or so I have been asking groups of ESL professionals and teachers-in-training to respond to the following set of instructions (the resultant "data" bear an interesting resemblance to the "Secrets of Successful Selling"):

> "Assume that you have just finished teaching an hour lesson that went beautifully. Everything clicked. Recall, if you will, a recent experience of that kind. Now, quickly, without doing a great deal of introspection, write down the first three things you think of in answer to the question: Why did that session go so well? How would you explain it? What are the first few explanatory principles that come to mind for you?"

The first responses of teachers have tended to fall in four categories/levels:

FIGURE 3
Initial Explanations for the
"Great Class" (N = 90)

I. (.33)
Clarity of Goals
and
Lesson Structure

II. (.20)
a. Subject of
inherent
interest

(.20)
b. Teacher
felt
"good"

III. (.15)
Students
were "up,"
responsive

IV. (.12)
"Spontaneous
combustion"
(no clear "cause")

The first category (.33) is ostensibly cognitive, clarity of goals and lesson structuring. The other three categories seem to be progressively less cognitive and more affect-oriented, more "feeling" based. In category four, responses tended to be of the following type: "It just happened," "We just hit it off," etc. Note that comments such as "I was well prepared" were included in I; IIb was reserved for statements reflecting on the "well being" or "emotional" state of the teacher.

At one time or another all five of those perspectives have been proposed as the beginning point, conceptually, for language instruction or attitude change, as the "way in." Although pedagogical focus on any one area may effect change in others, where you begin – whether from a cognitive or affective perspective – does make a difference. It probably says something quite meaningful about one's model of teaching and how one responds (generally unconsciously) on the spot in the classroom.

One of my favorite stories in that regard concerns an "experiment" I once conducted to demonstrate to a class of intermediate-level ESL students the powerful impact student attention has on a teacher. Having trained the class in verbal attending behaviors (Ivey and Authier 1978, Acton 1984), such as types of questions and ways of expressing interest or enthusiasm, and having trained them in attending nonverbally, e.g., eye contact, smiling, posture and notetaking, I instructed them as a class to practice covertly that behavior on their next-hour instructor. They apparently did a fine job. When I saw the teacher later that day and asked him how things were going that his comment was that he should be well prepared more often (category I). When a week later we reversed the treatment – I told the students not to exhibit strong attending behavior (i.e., not to look at the instructor or take notes or ask many questions) – his response to me was that the students seemed unresponsive and tired, he was just feeling off that day; he had strained his voice. (I should add that I did later fill him in on what was afoot.)

The instructor (unconsciously) identified the cognitive side of the multidimensional experience of a *successful* class, but remarked on the affective or attitudinal dimension in response to a *less successful* class.

Now compare the "Secrets of Successful Selling (Figure 2)," the "Initial Explanations for the 'Great' Class (Figure 3)," and the instructor's two reactions to my "experiment." Notice that in all three cases the initial explanation for success is a cognitive map of sorts, either a plan for making money or a lesson plan. At the other end of the continua we find talk of general responsiveness, spontaneous combustion or sex – decidedly more emotion-oriented concepts.

What that argues for is a more appropriate perspective on the role of affect in second language pedagogy, that it should be seen as important yet *secondary* to cognition. Because cognition-centered language learning and teaching entails exhaustive treatment of "affective" factors (by definition – assuming the validity of Hamilton 1983(a well-executed "cognitive" activity (even a drill!) must of necessity be well-executed affectively.[3]

The Communicative Approach (or Way[4]) to Affect

The integration of the cognitive and affective, apparent throughout the humanities and social sciences, has also been evident for quite some time now in linguistics and applied linguistics. As our understanding of how language is used has grown, more phenomena once consigned to the category of "affect" (meaning something that went on unconsciously or was loosely associated with emotion) have come to be seen as more systematic and cognitive in nature. Nowhere is

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[3] Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) consign affect to an "affective filter" metaphor, independent of and "prior to" cognitive processing. Affect in Hamilton's model does not *constrain* performance or learning, it is (simply) an essential feature or characteristic of central cognitive processing. Taking the metaphor seriously, the "filter" suggests a more segregated role in teaching.

[4] The use of the word "way" in this paper was chosen for a number of reasons – including the association with Stevick's treatment of the generally affect-centered approaches in *A Way and Ways* (1980). Stevick's "Way" refers to an approach or a "meta approach" relating the commonalities of the popular approaches he treats. My use of "Way In" here denotes the theoretical point of entry into an approach or the pedagogical practice of listing in assumed order of importance (if only implicitly) language teaching objectives and methods to achieve those objectives.

that more evident than in the case of what used to be termed the "emotional connotations" of words. As we better understand how to describe context and develop more elaborate frameworks for studying suprasegmentals seemingly, unsystematic emotion-related phenomena appear less problematic and more predictable. Such research in linguistics, especially in pragmatics, has already begun to have an impact on language teaching (see Bolinger 1983). The recent developments in notional/functional syllabus design (see Munby 1978, Finocchiaro and Brumfit 1983) and the Communicative Approach (see Breen and Candlin 1980) offer real promise. In any in-depth analysis of the functions necessary for conversational competence in English (or any language), there is certain to be a significant amount of space devoted to "attitudinal tone," what Hymes (1971) terms "communicative key," and systematic attention to the language of expressing emotion (see Munby 1978, Johnson and Morrow 1981).

One of the inevitable consequences of encouraging genuine communication is that subjects which are highly emotionally charged inevitably come up. For example, should we discover that community attitudes toward our students are not exactly warm and accepting, we should teach the students how to understand, express and respond to those attitudes. Both the earlier "affective" approaches of the 1970's and more recent notional-functional models appear to agree. There are two important differences, however. First, whereas in earlier approaches (see Curran 1976) the generation of appropriate expressions was essentially "post hoc", i.e., vocabulary was not prepared or even "known" prior to the communicative activity itself, in a communicative approach (see Finocchiaro and Brumfit 1983) many maintain that the basic inventory of necessary expressions or exponents should have been already arrived at by means of a notional-functional analysis of relevant topics and contexts, and be available to both learner and instructor. Second, the "way in" to the syllabus is significantly different. Instead of foregrounding affective objectives (see Moskowitz 1978), in a communicative approach more cognition-based communicative outcomes, e.g., negotiating a price, registering a complaint, are specified.

The effect of that change in perspective is important. Conceptually the syllabus and curriculum move from communicative event or outcome "down" to the level of "function" (e.g., expressing emotions). The actual materials used (in a truly communicative curriculum) provide the instructor with sets of contextually-indexed expressions which may be turn out to be relevant in the activity (e.g., a role play), including ways of presenting and coping with attitudes.

Conclusion

There are at least four applications of the research reported here that should be of significant "cash value" to the classroom teacher:

I. Affective variables are context-sensitive in at least two ways. It is dangerous to try to assign labels such as "integrative" or "positive" or "negative" to individuals as explanations or predictors of success, but research findings on attitudes at the broader societal level provide us with essential political understanding.

II. Even though many of our common-sense notions of attitude have been shown to be exceedingly difficult to measure or seem to suffer from a great deal of conceptual overlap, the same research can be interpreted to mean that attitudes are contagious (changing one will affect others), and that the general "attitude" of students can be influenced from various directions.

Furthermore, because research seems to show that constructs we have been treating as discrete may refer to a common underlying effect, it does not mean that those same constructs cannot (in principle) still serve useful purposes in conceptualizing and organizing a teaching approach. We must often treat the same problem from many different perspectives for things to "sink in."

III. Research in pragmatics and discourse analysis, along with the new focus on communicative functions related to dealing with emotion, will provide us with a better understanding of the language of expressing emotions and attitudes in both this culture and language, and others. Language teaching materials based on such research will be enormously valuable.

IV. Any expression of affect is a symbolic, cognitive activity. Similarly, our "way in" to language teaching and our algorithm for design of curriculum ought to correspond roughly to the hierarchically ordered sets of principles we see in both the "Secrets of Successful Selling" or "Explanations for the Great Class." Attitude, motivation and affect must be seen as important components of one's theory of second language acquisition and pedagogy, but should not be treated as conceptually "prior" to or relatively independent of cognition and cognitive-behavioral outcomes.

After all, well-executed drilling, whether for oil, grammar or affect, entails avoiding "gushers" while at the same time providing for the rigorous, controlled use of a vital resource. The "affective domain" should be seen in proper context: subsumed within a more cognition-centered psychological theory and the "communicative" curriculum.

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BEYOND INTEGRATIVE MOTIVATION: THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF ASSIMILATIVE MOTIVATION

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Language is much more than a tool for communicating or a means of organizing our thoughts and classifying objects in the world around us; it is one of the most powerful means available of identifying ourselves as a member of a particular social group. When we speak we "betray our social group membership, sometimes by design and sometimes whether we wish to or not" (Brown and Levinson 1979:300).

Smith (1972) has referred to this aspect of language as the integrative function. It is distinguished from the communicative function which he identifies with the transmission of referential or denotative information between persons. He notes that a speaker of a language can communicate referential meaning without many of the features which characterize native-like speech. For example, a speaker of English is rarely misunderstood if he fails to inflect the verb for third person singular. And yet such features are a very important part of native-like speech in most varieties of English.

Linguistic groups often exercise sanctions upon those speakers who fail to conform to the norms of the group. Lambert et al. (1960) have shown that both anglophones and francophones in Quebec utilize dialect as a primary marker for their negative stereotyping. Similar results have been found with other linguistic groups (Flores and Hooper 1975, Williams 1976). Labov (1972a:256) has claimed that among youngsters involved in neighborhood gangs in Harlem ". . . the group exerts its control over the vernacular in a supervision so close that a single slip may be condemned and remembered for years (1972a:256)."

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Joos (1971) has hypothesized that it is precisely the absence of this integrative motive in a speech community which gives rise to a pidgin language. When speakers of different languages need to interact but lack the social solidarity to form a homogeneous community, they may do so by inventing an interlanguage which lacks many of the grammatical and phonological features that would serve to identify them as native speakers of either of the languages.

This integrative motive discussed by Joos, Labov and others should not be confused with that commonly discussed in the literature on language learning (Gardner and Lambert 1972, Spolsky 1969).[1] In order to avoid confusion I will refer to it as assimilative motivation.[2] Assimilative motivation differs from the integrative motivation discussed by Gardner and Lambert in several fundamental ways.

First of all, integrative motivation appears not to necessitate first-hand experience with a peer group of the target culture. Gardner and Lambert attempt to measure subjects' desire to communicate with or be like members of another linguistic group, based not on first-hand experience with the culture, but on an "open-minded, friendly and inquisitive" interest in the culture or on "dissatisfactions experienced in their own culture" (1972:3). Thus, this kind of orientation could be experienced by persons who have had no direct experience with a peer group in the target culture.

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[1] Schumann (1978a) has noted a similar difference in his Acculturation Model, although he appears to consider it simply a matter of degree. He identifies two types of acculturation one of which roughly corresponds to the term assimilative motivation as it is discussed in this paper. He states that:

> . . . in type one acculturation, the learner is socially integrated with the TL group and, as a result, develops sufficient contacts with TL speakers to enable him to acquire the TL. In addition, he is psychologically open to the TL such that input to which he is exposed becomes intake. Type two acculturation has all the characteristics of type one, but in this case the learner regards the TL speakers as a reference group whose life style and values he consciously or unconsciously desires to adopt (Schumann 1978a:29).

Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982:50, 51) have also made a similar distinction. They refer to integrative motivation and to social group identification motivation. Social group identification motivation is defined as ". . . the desire to acquire proficiency in a language or language variety spoken by a social group with which the learner identifies" (1982:50-51). They further state that:

> The social group identification motive is similar to the integrative motive, but. . . goes beyond it. Learners with an integrative motive for learning a new language would wish to participate in the social or cultural life of the target language speakers while retaining their identification with their own native language group. Learners who have social group identification motive would want social and cultural participation, but they would also want to become members of the group that speaks the new language or language variety (1982:1)

[2] The term assimilative motivation was suggested by Cheryl Brown and has been chosen because it implies that the learner desires to become an indistinquishable member of the target speech community. The learner may not be able necessarily to articulate his feelings regarding the social group, but he will manifest his attitude toward the group through his conforming to the norms of the group.

Assimilative motivation, on the other hand, occurs only after the individual has experienced prolonged contact with the target culture. As a matter of fact, the initial reaction of many persons when placed in a second language environment may be one of rejecting the new language and culture (Kenyeres and Kenyeres 1938, Itoh and Hatch 1978). After a period of contact with peers from the target culture, however, children usually adapt and attempt to gain the acceptance of the group.

Secondly, the Gardner and Lambert-type of questionnaires require the subject to make overt, reasoned choices regarding alternative motivations for studying a second language. The assimilative motive discussed here is a more subtle force which often operates in spite of the fact that the subject might not understand it nor be able to discuss it rationally.

Finally, the indirect questionnaire of Spolsky (1969) and the "attitudinal ratings" of Gardner and Lambert (1972), while they do measure a rather intuitive kind of force in the subjects, appear to measure factors which disrupt normal assimilative motivation rather than the motivation itself. These disruptive forces will be discussed in greater detail later.

Assimilative motivation, which is the subject of this paper, appears to be: (1) an essential part of normal language acquisition and, like the capacity for language acquisition itself, a consequence of species membership, (2) largely a peer-group phenomenon, (3) the primary impetus for developing native-like speech in a second language, (4) strongest during infancy and childhood, gradually becoming weaker through adolescence and into adulthood, and (5) capable of being disrupted even during childhood by certain external social forces.

Assimilative Motivation and Language Acquisition

In normal first language acquisition it appears clear that children do not acquire forms primarily because they are overtly rewarded for it (Brown and Hanlon 1970). Caretakers have not been shown to withhold affection nor physical rewards from children because of their defective syntax or pronunciation. Children perform most language functions quite well at an early age with rather imperfect grammar.

Why, then, should children go to all the trouble of becoming native speakers of the language of their environment? If they can understand and make themselves understood rather well with forms which deviate from the normal adult standard, why should they continue to develop their language until it is virtually indistinguishable from that of other members of their speech community? While this problem seems not to have received much attention in the literature, it appears that the assimilative function of language plays a large role in this development. The child must develop native-like speech in order to become an accepted member of his peer social group (Labov 1972a).

The Ontogeny of Assimilative Motivation as a Peer-Group Phenomenon

During the last decade a considerable literature has developed regarding the origins and development of children's behaviors toward others. This literature suggests that children are capable of distinguishing between people in their environment from a very early age. Fogel (1979) observed that infants between the ages of 5 and 14 weeks responded differently to their mothers than to other infants. When their mothers were present they were likely to smile, gesture, raise their eyebrows, and stick out their tongues; but while in the presence of other infants they would strain forward and stare as if "to get a closer look." During their second looks at other infants they were likely to exhibit abrupt head and arm movements, which Fogel said had "the quality of almost uncontrolled excitement" (1979:220, 224). Likewise Eckerman and Stein found that ". . .even from very early life, the frequency with which the infant looks, smiles, and babbles to people varies with the person" (1982:43). Bronson (1975) observed that infants were capable of recognizing strangers by three months of age. Brooks and Lewis (1976) found that by the age of nine months children could differentiate between midgets, adults and other children.

What is more, children begin at a very early age to demonstrate preferences for people like themselves (Berscheid and Walster 1978, Doyle 1982, Hay, Pederson and Nash 1982). Brooks and Lewis (1976) observed that twelve-month-old infants preferred to look at baby faces rather than adult faces. Vandell (1980) in a longitudinal study of infants between 6 and 12 months of age found that infants looked at and vocalized more to peers than to their mothers. Others have shown that toddlers and young children manifest a preference for playmates of the same sex (Langlois et al. 1973, Abel and Sahinkaya 1962, Jacklin and Maccoby 1978, Serbin, Tonick and Sternglanz 1977), and of the same race (Lambert and Taguchi 1956, McCandless and Hoyt 1961). Brooks-Gunn and Lewis hypothesized that this preference develops as the child begins to develop perceptions of self:

> As the child develops a notion of self, he also comes to value himself. By inference, those who are like self are also valued. Thus, preferences arise out of the valuation of self and the knowledge that self and a specific other both possess similar properties, i.e. gender, age, or perhaps even a specific affective relationship (i.e. parent and infant, brother and sister, etc.) (1978:97)

With regard to language this preference for persons like themselves is manifested in children in the particular speech varieties which they acquire. A number of linguists have noted that when families move to a new dialect area, the children typically learn the dialect of their peers rather than that of their parents (Stewart 1964, Labov 1966). Mexican children immigrating to black neighborhoods in Los Angeles have been observed to acquire the black dialect of their peers rather than the standard English dialect of their teachers. Maori children acquire the English dialect of their own ethnic group rather than the standard New Zealand dialect of other children in their environment (Benton 1974:93).

Not only do children manifest this preference for peer-group speech in the acquisition of dialects, but also studies of early bilingual development suggest that children experience a similar peer influence on the development of two languages. Kenyeres and Kenyeres (1938) report a diary study of their seven-year-old daughter Eva's acquisition of French. Eva was raised as a monolingual in Hungarian, and at the age of seven moved with her family to Geneva. At first she refused to learn French, but as time went on she developed friendships with her peers and within six months of her arrival in Geneva, Eva no longer wished to respond in Hungarian to her parents even when they addressed her in that language. Upon returning to Budapest after two years in Geneva, Eva was laughed at because of her faulty Hungarian, and she went through a readjustment period in Hungarian. Within a few months she was embarrassed to speak French with her parents unless no one else was around.

Tits (1948) reports a study of a Spanish refugee girl who lived with a Belgian family. When she was 6:4 she attended school where her peers spoke French. She advanced very rapidly in learning French and within months claimed that she could no longer speak Spanish. This happened in spite of attempts on the part of her foster family to preserve her Spanish by speaking it at home.

Leopold (1954:26, 27), in a study of the bilingual German-English development of his daughter Hildegard in an English-speaking environment, observed that by the end of her second year, English began to dominate even though he spoke to her exclusively in German. During her third year, her English sentence patterns progressed with "astonishing rapidity" while her German syntax was "stagnant." By the end of her fourth year her language was decidedly English with occasional intrusions of German words. She began speaking English to her father even though he addressed her in German. At the end of her fifth year, the Leopolds moved to Germany for about seven months. For the first month Hildegard was left alone with German speakers. During that time she became "completely fluent" in German and her English receded. She was "unable to say more than a few very simple English sentences after these four weeks." By the end of six months, she had straightened out most of her problems with German pronunciation and syntax. Upon her return to the United States, the adjustment process was reversed. At first she was unable to say more than a few words in English, but within a few weeks she had regained her fluency.

In an experimental case study with his own son, James (1981) found that his two-year-old son was already choosing to speak English to the child's Hokkien-speaking mother who was his primary caretaker – in spite of the fact that the mother had never spoken to him in English. James hypothesized that this was the result of the fact that the child was in daily contact with English-speaking peers on the playground of the married student housing project where they lived.

Labov in a very careful study of dialect variation in the inner city found that ". . . the most consistent vernacular is spoken by those between the ages of 9 and 18. . . .In some sharply differentiated subsystems, a consistent vernacular can be obtained only from children and adolescents: the grammars of adults seem to be permanently changed by their use of standard rules" (1972a:257). Elsewhere he has claimed that the local vernacular is acquired primarily between the ages of 5 through 12 from the immediate group of friends and associates. "Neighborhood dialect characteristics become automatically established responses in the pattern of everyday speech, and the influence of the parents is submerged under the influence of the peer group" (Labov 1974:91).

The importance of assimilative motive in language acquisition can be appreciated when one examines the course of second language acquisition in its absence. Schumann (1978a) documents a case of a 33-year-old Costa Rican immigrant, Alberto, whose English had essentially fossilized at a rather primitive stage of development. Schumann attributes this pidginization in large part to the lack of motivation of the subject, resulting from the great social distance between the subject and the English-speaking community. While the effects of other factors cannot be totally discounted in Alberto's lack of progress in learning English, Schumann presents convincing evidence that the lack of motivation played a major role.

This fossilization of linguistic development is also characteristic of children when there is no peer group that speaks the second language natively (Selinker, Swain and Dumas 1975). In second language immersion programs, teachers are typically native speakers of the L2 while almost all the students begin the program with little or no L2 background. Thus the teacher serves as a native-speaker model for L2, but the peer group is composed essentially of speakers of L1. Spilka (1976) observed that while children in such programs develop a highly communicative and satisfactory level of linguistic ability in the second language, their speech is simplified in ways similar to that of adult second language learners. As a matter of fact, the assimilative motivation in some ways may work against the acquisition of native-like proficiency in the L2. Cohen observed that the interlanguage of the peer group "...can have such an impact that where there are several native speakers of the second language in the class, as in Culver City, they too may begin to use certain of these interlanguage forms" (1982:105).

What is being claimed here is that assimilative motivation is the normal inclination of children who are placed in a second language learning environment and that if there is no peer group available that represents the second language and culture, even children will not acquire native-like competency in the language.

The Disruption of the Assimilative Motive

While a high level of assimilative motivation is normal for children, there are certain social influences that can disrupt it. Probably the most common disruptive influence is parental intervention. Labov, in his study of dialects among youth gangs in New York City, observed that "...even in the most solid working-class areas, there are many isolated children who grow up without being members of any vernacular peer group and a steadily increasing number of individuals split away from the vernacular culture in their adolescent years" (1972a:258). In the black vernacular these individuals are referred to as "lames." One of the principal reasons for these children not being a part of the peer group is that their parents will not allow them to associate with other gang members.

In addition to being a disruptive force in children's acquisition of a particular dialect, parental intervention can also disrupt the normal force of assimilative motivation in the development of early bilingualism. As was discussed earlier, the normal tendency in early bilingual development is for the child to begin preferring the language of peers to the exclusion of the language spoken by the parents. Unless parents do something to intervene, this may lead to the child's becoming monolingual. Saunders in a study of the English-German bilingual development of his two sons in Australia, states that if he "...had relented...and spoken English with Thomas (his son), he (Thomas) would have been quite happy to abandon German...," or if he had not persisted in "...eliciting German responses from him, Thomas would...be a receiving bilingual only, his knowledge of German confined to comprehension and his ability to speak the language limited" (1980:130).

Likewise, Fantini (1976) mentions that his wife was very strict in not responding to Mario when he spoke to her in English and insisted that Mario not mix the two languages. Consequently, Mario continued to speak Spanish at home even after he began attending preschool in English. It seems apparent from these two accounts that the maintenance of bilingual development in these two children required a special effort on the part of the parents to counteract the influence of the peer language.

Parental or community attitude toward a language or speech community can also have a very disruptive influence on assimilative motivation. Lambert and Klineberg (1967) have postulated that parents and other socializing agents train children through their interactions to notice certain differences among social groups and to manifest particular attitudes toward those differences. Aboud (1978) observed that in interactions between English- and French-speaking Canadians, it is usually the French speakers who concede to the dominant English speakers in terms of the language used.

Similar findings are reported by Edelsky and Hudelson (1981) in a study of Spanish-English interaction in a bilingual first grade class in Arizona. They were trying to answer the question of why English-speaking children in the Southwest, when placed in a class in which the majority of the children speak Spanish and where approximately half of the classroom instruction is carried out in Spanish, typically do not learn that language, while the Spanish-speaking children in the same environment learn to speak English fluently. During the nine-month period in which the investigators observed the children in both experimental sessions as well as in natural interaction "...Spanish was not used by any (Spanish speakers) on a one-to-one basis with any of the Anglo children" (Edelsky and Hudelson 1981:38). They concluded that this concession to the dominant English-speaking group on the part of the Spanish-speaking children was the result of major societal meanings assigned to the two languages.

Rosenthal (1974), in an ingenious series of experiments, found that societal attitudes toward language and cultures are internalized by children at an extremely early age. One of her experiments involving "magic boxes" attempted to test Black and Anglo preschool children's attitudes toward and preferences for Black and Standard English. Two boxes with identical faces painted on them were wired with a tape player on which identical language content was recorded in the two dialects. The children heard both dialects, each inviting them to take from that "person" a gift that was hidden from view. The children had to choose from which of the "persons" they preferred to receive the gift based soley on the dialect of the recording. Rosenthal found that children between the ages of three and five have already formed attitudes toward Black and Standard English and that these attitudes have many similarities to those found in adults. Similar results have been reported by Brand, Ruiz and Padilla (1974) for Spanish-speaking children.

There are other factors besides those mentioned above which disrupt the normal course of assimilative motivation in young people. Labov mentions that some individuals may not be allowed to participate in peer-group activities because of physical inabilities, or because they are considered by the group to be "mentally or morally defective" (1972a:259).

The Effects of Age on Assimilative Motivation

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the assimilative motive is a fundamental force in children's language development from a very early age, that it is primarily peer-centered, and that its normal influence can be disrupted by various social forces. Unlike adults who have successfully coped with the social environment for many years and who have developed a stable perception of themselves and their relationship to others, children seem compelled by a lack of development in these areas to pursue linguistic attachments, first with their parents, and then with peers. A number of authors have noted this need for social support by children and adolescents (e.g., Ervin-Tripp 1968, Horrocks 1962, Christophersen 1973).

It appears, however, that assimilative motivation begins to diminish during adolescence. Labov has noted that in most cities "...peer-group membership reaches a peak at the ages of 15 to 16" (1972a:257). This coincides with the age at which working class youngsters in New York begin to learn the more prestigious r-pronunciation (Labov 1972b:138). Labov observed that by 17 or 18 youngsters have attained "complete familiarity with the (linguistic) norms of the community" (1972b:138) and that, although they attempt to develop the use of more prestigious forms, they never attain the security in the use of these which the youngster from an upper-middle-class family does. He further states that "...it appears that this preadolscent period is the age when automatic patterns of motor production are set; as a rule, any habits acquired after this period are maintained by audio-monitoring, in addition to motor-controlled patterns" (1972b:138).

Additional support for the notion that assimilative motivation decreases with age during adolescence and adulthood comes from studies of the effects of age on language acquisition. Krashen, Long, and Scarcella reviewed over twenty recent studies on this topic and concluded that while adults and adolescents "...proceed through the early stages of syntactic and morphological development more rapidly than do children, acquirers who begin natural exposure to second language during childhood generally achieve higher second language proficiency than those beginning as adults" (1979:573).

While a number of alternative explanations have been proposed to account for the effects of age on language acquisition (Krashen 1982), the data from these studies are consistent with the hypothesis being advanced here. Asher and Garcia (1969), Selinger, Krashen, and Ladefoged (1975) and Oyama (1976, 1978) found that for immigrants living in second language environments, age of arrival was correlated inversely with nativeness of accent, listening comprehension and syntactic development. These results obtained, however, only after extended periods of residency in the L2 environment. In the Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978) study, in which they examined the acquisition of Dutch by monolingual English speakers living in Holland over a period of a year, adults and adolescents (aged 12-15) performed better than children (aged 3-10) on all measures of proficiency by the end of the first four-month period. After an additional four months the 8- to 10-year-olds had surpassed the adults on most measures. By the end of the year the 6- to 10-year-olds had not only surpassed the adults on most measures but they out-performed the 12- to 15-year-olds on measures of story comprehension and spontaneous speech fluency.

In studies where subjects were not exposed to a second language peer group, children were not superior to adolescents and adults in acquiring the L2, even when periods of exposure ranged over several years. Oller and Nagato (1974) compared the acquisition of English by Japanese subjects who began their language study in grades 1-6 with that of students who began in grades 7, 8 and 9. By grade 11 there were no significant differences in proficiency.

An interesting case study supporting this notion of preadolescence as being the period during which children naturally acquire unmonitored native-like speech is Hinofotis' (1977) analysis of the English language development of two Greek immigrants, Mary (age 7) and Spyros (age 14). Hinofotis reports that "Mary's pronunciation of English at the end of the two years in the United States was that of a native speaker," (1977:6) while Spyros spoke English with a Greek accent. Unfortunately Hinofotis does not comment on the interaction of the two subjects with their English-speaking peer groups.

One additional bit of evidence in favor of the view being presented here regarding the effects of age on assimilative motivation comes from actual observations of subjects of different ages interacting in second language environments. Wong-Fillmore (1976) observed the interaction of five monolingual Spanish-speaking first graders in a bilingual classroom over a period of nine months. She analyzed the observational records and divided the children's development into stages based on the children's learning strategies. She observes that "the first stage is characterized by a general concern, not so much for communicating as for getting a handle on the language and establishing a social relationship with speakers of the language" (Wong-Fillmore 1976:659). During the second stage, the children were primarily concerned with communicating. "The goal (was) to get the point across, one way or another" (1976:662). Only during the third stage did the children become concerned with grammatical correctness.

Adults, on the other hand, seem to approach the task of learning a language in exactly the opposite order. In Browns' (1983) analysis of observational records and diary entries of older learners acquiring Spanish in both formal and informal environments, she observed that:

> the most noticeable difference between learners in the formal language environment and learners in the informal learning environment was in the focus of their attention. In the formal environment, the focus was directly on learning the language. This focus influenced the perception of all factors. This is evidenced by the number of times that the older learners mentioned such things as language activities, teachers, and materials.
>
> In the field, however, the focus of attention was completely different. Instead of language being viewed as the end, it was viewed as a tool to use to achieve other goals, a tool that learners felt was frequently the cause of a failure or success at doing something else (1983:220).

Thus the older learners were first concerned with learning the correct structure of the language, and secondly with the problem of communicating via the language and using it as a tool. There is no mention of their ever reaching a stage in which they were concerned about social acceptance.

Brown quotes from a conversation with one of the older learners in a predominantly Spanish-speaking area of South Texas which reveals a great deal about their socialization in the second language environment:

> We really flubbed a little and I'm sure that it was 99% our fault. She lived right above us, right here in this building. And we would go. . . periodically and visit her but we didn't visit her everyday like we should or as often as we should because of the language barrier. We'd go in and, you know, after we'd say 'Good morning' or 'Good afternoon' and 'Como esta?' and this you say a few pat phrases and you back out the door – and you haven't solved your problem. You haven't solved your problem at all (1983:220).

It is apparent from this brief monolog that the learner felt a certain amount of discomfort in being immersed in the L2 environment and that there is an aspect of avoidance in his interaction with his neighbor. Even after seven months of daily association with Spanish speakers, this learner's motivation appears still to be primarily instrumental.

Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to show that assimilative motivation is largely responsible for the development of native-like speech in both first and second language. I have traced the development of assimilative motivation in children and have attempted to show that during adolescence this type of motivation begins to decrease in most speakers. The evidence for these claims has come largely from anecdotal accounts of early bilingual development, studies of dialect acquisition, bilingual immersion programs, and studies of language pidginization.

It is not being claimed that learners must be assimilatively motivated in order to develop a high level of proficiency in a second language. Obviously many learners who are primarily instrumentally motivated develop a great deal of facility with second languages. This degree of facility may be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the communicative function of language discussed by Smith (1972). However, such learners are not likely to acquire all of the characteristics of native-like speech without assimilative motivation.

If the effects of assimilative motivation are to be understood thoroughly, actual observational studies must be performed on subjects of varying ages placed in diverse second language environments. Only through direct observation of individuals immersed for extended periods of time in such environments can we hope to measure the quantity and quality of interaction between second language learners and members of the language community, thus gaining an appreciation for the intensity of their assimilative motivation.

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COMMUNICATIVE VALUES AND INFORMATION PROCESSING IN L2 ACQUISITION

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Introduction

Krashen's Monitor Model (Krashen 1978, 1981) has received much attention in second language acquisition (SLA) research during the last eight years. Of particular importance to the Model is that adult learners may acquire a second language (L2) via meaningful interaction in the L2 where attention is focused on using the language to communicate. Learners somehow "reconstruct" the L2 subconsciously from appropriate input. However, not all input is attended to by the learner. Thus, Krashen has elaborated the concept of "intake." *Intake* is that part of the input which a learner may tune into and process for possible internalization. Just how the learner gets intake from input is a question not adequately addressed by the Model.

Recently, researchers have turned their attention toward information processing theory to investigate the Monitor. Hulstijn and Hulstijn (1984), for example, take a critical look at the proposed properties of the Monitor via the information processing concepts of time and attention. They conclude (among other things) that attention was the most important variable affecting Monitor use and that time, as a factor, was dependent upon amount and direction of attention.

Interestingly, as in the Hulstijn and Hulstijn study, information processing has been used almost exclusively to discuss learner product or output (also see McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod 1983). Only very recently is SLA research witnessing an application of the concepts of information processing at the input/intake end of L2 development.

This paper is an attempt to examine input processing in SLA utilizing the cognitive psychology concepts of attention and effort. As mentioned previously, crucial to Krashen's hypotheses concerning the Monitor Model is the input/intake distinction: not all of what is heard by the learner is processed as linguistic data.

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It will be argued here that an important aspect of what becomes eligible for intake has to do with processing constraints on available attention and effort. Two different, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, processing strategies will be suggested for typical L2 acquirer: one where attention demands are so great that input can be processed only for informational content, and a second where attention and effort are available to process incoming linguistic input for structure as well as content. First, it will be necessary to take a cursory look at what has been coined in some circles as "selective listening". How these processing strategies affect L2 acquisition will be discussed later.

Selective Listening

There is ample evidence in SLA literature that learners selectively attend to input. In one study, Schapira reports on Zoila who seems to ignore *how* someone says something, paying more attention to informational content. The following excerpt demonstrates the phenomenon:

Zoila: I never. . .I never listen, you know the. . .the words little, uh, small words for continue my conversation.
Rina: What? Like what?
Zoila: The /fras/, you know *frase*?
Rina: Sentence.
Zoila: The sentence, sentence. In the sentence I never using this little, little words.
Rina: Like what?
Zoila: Ah, "and" and "that" [here Zoila gives some examples of 'little words', several of which are incomprehensible to the transcriber]. . .Well, maybe because I no study. . .never, and only hear the people and. . .and talking.
Rina: Yeah, but people talk with these words.
Zoila: Yeah, *pero*. . .I'm. . .hear and put more attention the big words. You know and. . .something "house". I know "house" is the *casa* for me. And /eses/ and little words no too important for me (1978:254).

While several of the phonetic transcriptions of Zoila's comments have been elided in the original quote, Zoila's strategy seems clear: she attends to input by focusing on informational content only. While she states that she pays attention to words, Schapira suggests that Zoila uses this same strategy in attending to structure. Schapira states, ". . .I suspect what she (Zoila) really means by the distinction 'big words' and 'little words' is not so much the traditional dichotomy content vs. function words, but rather communicative utterances vs. redundancies" (1978:254).

In an interview with an ESL learner, Wenden (1983) revealed the same strategy as reported by Schapira. Following is a fragment of that interview:

Q: Are you comfortable with him (the boss)?
A: Yes, he speaks slowly, more slowly that others, so it's easier for me.
Q: Do you ever notice how he says things?

A: When doing business, I don't consider grammar. Mostly I try to get the meaning. It's not necessary to catch all the words (1983:6).

Clearly this learner is aware of his own focus of attention. Unlike Zoila in the Schapira study, this learner does overtly mention that he ignores structure ("grammar") when attending to someone else's speech.

VanPatten (1983,1984) offers some different evidence for selective listening. Based on a longitudinal study of ten adult learners of Spanish, VanPatten was able to isolate many instances where learners were evidently ignoring how something was said to them. One subject is cited in the following sample interchange:

Q: (pointing to picture) ¿Cómo están ellos? (How are they?)
A: Son contento. (They're happy.) (1984:92)

The learner seemingly did not attend to the correct coupla *estar* in the interviewer's question and produced an utterance in which the wrong copula *ser* was used. The interviewer, intrigued by the phenomenon, rephrased the question while referring to the next picture and moved the copula to a more salient position in the sentence (in this case, sentence final):

Q: Y ellos, ¿cómo están? (And how are they?)
A: Son contento también. (They're happy, too.) (1984:92)

The learner still did not attend to how the interviewer phrased the question. An examination of the other learners (of differing abilities and communicative proficiencies) turned up the same phenomenon of attention. This led VanPatten to conclude that attention was focused on communication only while input was being processed and that form (or structure) was ignored,

Throughout the literature on SLA there are occasional reports on selective listening such as those outlined above. All have in common that selective listening seems to involve concentrated focus on informational content and not necessarily on how that content was delivered. It was suggested in VanPatten (1984) that this particular strategy, i.e., focus on information, be called a "communicative" input processing strategy to parallel the use of the term "communicative" in other areas of SLA literature. What remains to be discussed is just what effect this strategy has on SLA. If learners attend solely to meaning, how do they acquire structure? More importantly, how do learners acquire structure and morphology that may be absolutely meaningless during input processing, e.g., redundant third-person -S?

Information Processing and Input

The concept of attention focus is not new. Cognitive psychologists have reported on how humans selectively focus their attention when processing incoming stimuli. McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod (1983) summarize much of the literature on this point, as do Schneider and Shiffrin (1977). McLaughlin et al. come to the conclusion that "not everything reaching the organism through various input channels becomes an object of attention" (1983:136). Later on, McLaughlin et al. state:

> In short, humans are limited-capacity information processors, both in terms of what they can attend to at a given point in time and in terms of what they can handle on the basis of knowledge and expectations. Attention focus – what the individual can attend to at a given point in time – can be focal or periphral (1983:137).

The terms "focal" and "peripheral" refer to items that the listener perceives as important and less important in terms of processing incoming stimuli. This is exemplified by the processes of skimming and scanning in reading. The eyes go over the print searching for specific information. When the information processing system is alerted to the information's presence (i.e., the eyes "see" it), then attention is focused on that information. Content before and after the specific information may be ignored, indeed not even processed. After skimming, the reader typically recalls that which received attention. To be sure, the information processing system did have to decide whether or not skimmed material was relevant in order to stop and focus, and this was done at tremendously quick speed during the skimming process. However, as the system made its judgement as to relevance, those items deemed irrelevant to the task at hand were quickly released from short term buffer and memory to allow the skimming process to continue at its quick speed. (The reader is referred to the cited authors and to the list of references for more detailed accounts of information processing.)

It does not seem unreasonable to couch the selective listening strategy or communicative processing strategy in terms of information processing. From the cited examples in the previous section, it does seem that L2 learners distinguish between focal and peripheral items in the speech directed at them. However, in terms of the dynamics of a communicative interchange, focal and peripheral are to be interpreted as those elements in an utterance which are important in terms of informational content (focal) and those that are not (peripheral). Language learners may be said to attend to focal items, items of high communicative value, in order to *efficiently* arrive at the informational content of what is directed at them in speech.

Related to the concept of attention, and important to the argument to be developed later, is the notion of "effort". In simplest terms, effort is required by the information processing system in order to attend to and focus in on input. If the task at hand is easy, then little effort is required. As the task assumes complexity/difficulty, then more effort is needed. For most adults, reading for leisure is not a difficult task. Most of us do it with music in the background, while riding a bus, or even with "one eye on the TV." However, reading in order to prepare for an exam puts many more demands on the information processing system as more of the printed page becomes focal matter (as opposed to peripheral). Thus, more effort is needed in order to process the input. Non-related stimuli (cars whizzing by on the street) are either tuned out or are escaped (we seek a quiet, secluded place).

In addition to the notion of effort, there are automatic and controlled processes. Controlled processes are those which require large amounts of effort and are usually considered conscious tasks. Automatic processes require no conscious effort and do not interfere with controlled processes. (See Schneider and Shiffrin 1977). Driving one's car is a controlled process. It demands much effort as the person watches for other cars, keeps an eye on the road, looks for the various traffic signs, etc. However, shifting gears is an automatic process which requires no effort. It proceeds unconsciously and does not put any attention demands on the information processing system while a person is driving.

Returning to the communicative processing strategy, it becomes immediately evident that depending upon the learner's built-up competence (i.e., acquired L2 system), attending to the informational content of an utterance may be either an automatic process in that it requires no conscious effort and does not interfere with controlled processes (e.g. taking notes on what the other person is saying) or it may be a controlled process, one in which large demands are made upon the information processing system and thus effort is tied up in "getting at the meaning." When the communicative processing strategy is a controlled process, then the learner can attend *only* to the informational content of the utterance. The elements carrying important communicative information become focal, and peripheral items may be lost if there are time constraints on the process. The learner, in effect, strips the sentence of communicatively non-important elements and only decodes for the focal items. It should be noted, as Schapira (1978) suggests, that what is stripped may be entire words or it may be just bound morphology (e.g., verb affixes). The stripped material could be a combination of both. The information processing system may make no distinction between words and inflections if the sole purpose is to process speech input for meaning. This can be illustrated with an example from Spanish. Recall the previous interchange between interviewer and subject from VanPatten (1984). If the learner was concerned only with communication and his built-up L2 system was limited, then it is quite understandable that the copula should be skipped over while processing input. Thus, *¿Como estan ellos?* is stripped of unimportant forms during processing and the learner processes only *cómo* and *ellos*. If that same learner is given a much longer string to process, the effects of attention, effort and controlled processes are much clearer. If the learner is confronted with a sentence such as *¿CUANTas CHICAs hay EN ESTa CLASE?* (How many girls are in this class?) the interaction between attention and effort may allow only for the processing of those elements written in upper case letters (items of high communicative value) while those items in lower case letters (unimportant forms) may be ignored. Thus, what the learner "picks up" may be just *CUANT CHICA EN EST CLASE?*

Controlled processes for understanding an utterance may be prevalent at every stage of the learning of the language if learners are constantly confronted by syntax and vocabulary beyond their competence. In the very early stages, the learner often relies heavily on the L1 to decode sentences by mentally translating utterances from the L2 to the L1. This demands a huge quantity of mental gymnastics and consequently requires much attention and effort from the information processing system. Only communicatively important forms may get processed at this stage. Later, if the L1 can be bypassed as a translator and meaning may be directly accessed from the L2 acquired system, then substantial amounts of attention and effort may be released, and the information processing system may turn its attention to those peripheral items that were once ignored. It is this later stage of development in the L2 learner that will occupy the discussion in the next section of this paper.

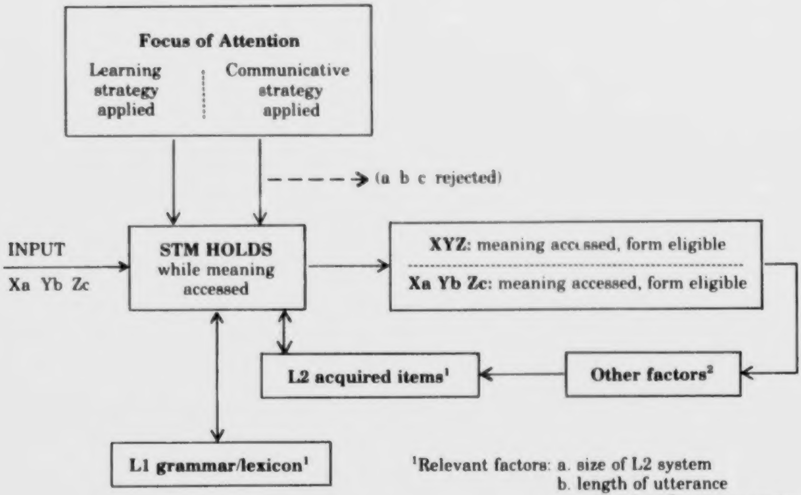
The Learning Strategy

In the previous section, it was stated that learner comprehension of the L2 could be explained in terms of the information processing concepts of attention, effort, controlled and automatic processes. As the learner builds up an acquired system, a significant gain in terms of processing time may be made, thus releasing attention and effort to other aspects of the speech delivered. The learner may now focus on and process those pieces of communicatively unimportant information, e.g., third-person -S. With enough time and exposure to the language the information processing system will do with these forms what it did with previously communicative important forms: make them eligible for intake so that the learner can acquire them. When the learner is able to process both for meaning and for structure that is irrelevant to meaning, we will term this as operating under a "learning" "strategy." It may be the learning strategy that eventually allows the learner to process and ultimately acquire structure and morphology that was previously missing from the built-up L2 system.

It is important to note that the learning strategy can only be applied when meaning of an incoming L2 utterance can be decoded automatically, i.e., the decoding is not a controlled process. Only when the communicatively important aspects of an utterance can be instantaneously accessed is sufficient attention and effort released for the learner to process other elements. If the learner is struggling with meaning, or the vocabulary and syntax of an utterance overshoot the level of competence, then available attention and effort are used for the communicative strategy and the learning strategy is not evoked.

Following this line, it is *possible* that the learner applies the communicative strategy to part of the input sentence and if that strategy is automatic, the information processing system may have sufficient attention and effort to apply the learning strategy to another part of the utterance. There is no reason to suppose that the two strategies are mutually exclusive.

FIGURE 1


Focus of Attention
Learning strategy applied
Communicative strategy applied
(a b c rejected)
INPUT
Xa Yb Zc
STM HOLDS while meaning accessed
XYZ: meaning accessed, form eligible
Xa Yb Zc: meaning accessed, form eligible
L2 acquired items[1]
Other factors[2]
L1 grammar/lexicon[1]

[1] Relevant factors: a. size of L2 system
b. length of utterance
c. properties of memory access

[2] Other factors: usually socio-affective

The interaction of these two processing strategies can be diagrammed as in Figure 1. Under input, the upper case letters again signify forms with more communicative information (the pieces necessary to understand the sentence as a whole). The lower case letters signify communicatively less or non-important forms. As the two strategies are applied, the less important items may be rejected during processing. This is depicted by the parentheses around the lower case letters. If the access of meaning is an automatic process for the particular utterance at hand, attention and effort are available to apply the learning strategy. Once the learning strategy is engaged, previously ignored elements of an utterance can be processed and may become eligible for intake. The meaning accessed box depicts several possible outcomes of the engagement of these strategies. In practical terms, the learning strategy could result in any permutation of upper and lower case letters: Xa Y Z; Xa Yb Z; X Y Zc, etc. Figure 1 offers only two possible outcomes as a matter of simplification.

The arrows leading to and from the L1 and L2 acquired systems are purposefully of different lengths. The short lines leading from short-term-memory to the L2 indicate the following: that automatic access of the L2 requires less time than reliance upon the L1. Conversely, the long lines from short-term-memory to the L1 indicate the following: that more time is needed to comprehend input if the learner is mentally translating.

Affective Variables and Information Processing

If it is accepted that learners' information processing systems operate on input in the way suggested here, then the question arises as to how learners progress or do not progress in the language. Zoila (Schapira 1978) was characterized as a non-learner by Schapira: much like Schumann's (1978) Alberto, Zoila pidginized at a certain level of English competence. After acquiring a certain amount of the L2, Zoila just seemed to stop acquiring. If her information processing system utilized the learning strategy as well as the communication strategy, then why didn't Zoila keep on acquiring?

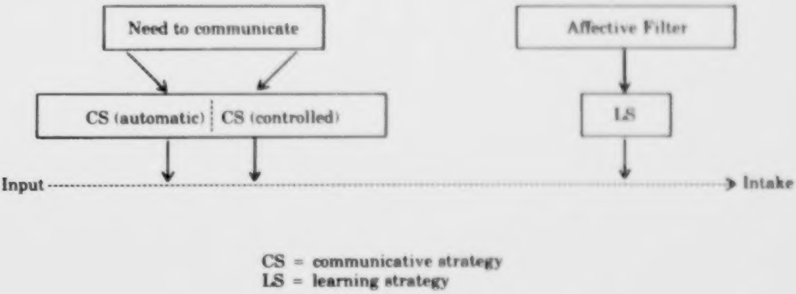
It has been suggested by many researchers that rate of acquisition and eventual level of attainment are best governed by affective variables. For Gardner (1973) integrative motivation was seen as an important factor in ensuring successful language development. For Schumann (1978) social and psychological distance are key factors in language acquisition. Such studies have in common at least the following: that internal psychological make-up of the learner is a crucial factor in accounting for successful language acquisition. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) summarize the literature in this area and discuss the importance of the affective filter in L2 acquisition. If the filter is high, input does not become intake (acquisition does not occur or is inhibited). If the filter is low, then input can become intake and acquisition can happen. How does this relate to the information processing system?

If the learning strategy is what allows for eventual development of the acquired system, and if affective variables are important for successful SLA, then it would seem that the learning strategy is governed by affective variables. Supposing that the learner had a low affective filter and was highly motivated to acquire the L2, then the information processing system would make more use of the learning strategy than would the system in a learner where the affective filter was high. In other words, if the affective filter is high, then the learner rarely gets out of the communicative processiang strategy.

At first this seems like a paradox, for if there is appropriate built-up competence, then the communicative strategy may proceed as an automatic process and the learning strategy can be engaged. But, the fact that meaning can be accessed automatically without controlled processes does not a priori mean that the learning strategy will be applied by the information processing system. *The learning strategy will only be applied if the affective variables allow for it in the information processing system*. A learner's make-up will not dictate when the communicative strategy will be applied, for that is dictated by the need to communicate itself in or out of the classroom. If the learner is involved in meaningful interchange, where message is important, the communicative strategy is envoked. The same cannot be said for the learning strategy: it can only be applied under affectively favorable situations.

What is being suggested then, is an information processing system with two general strategies, one of which is triggered by need, the other of which is controlled by affective variables. (See Figure 2).

FIGURE 2



Information Processing Strategies and L2 Development

The strategies outlined here for the information processing system help us to account for some of what has been reported in L2 research. First, it has been claimed that child L1 morpheme orders are different from L2 orders. Second, for L2 learners, it has been suggested several times that the last morphemes/grammatical structures to be acquired are those that have little if any semantic (communicative) value. (See Hatch 1974, Warshawsky 1975, VanPatten 1984). On the other hand, it has also been suggested that frequency of occurrence in input plays the most important role in determining when a given form emerges in learner speech (Larsen-Freeman 1976, Andersen 1978, Plann 1979). This latter argument contradicts what has been reported by Brown (1973) for child L1 acquisition. However, as VanPatten (1984) suggested, when the acquisition of a structure is compared only to those of the same syntactic class (e.g., noun-oriented structures vs. verb-oriented structures), the child-adult differences in morpheme acquisition so often reported do not exist or at least are minimal. That is, child L1 and child/adult L2 learners tend to acquire noun-oriented morphemes in the same order and verb-oriented morphemes in another. If this is so, then the crucial question is why do *all* learners of English acquire morphemes in relatively the same order? Is the order due principally to the effects of frequency or to communicative value? Or is the order due to a combination of both factors?

If the human information processing system operates during language development (not during adult-like, native language use) as outlined in this paper, then communicative value becomes of primary importance. As long as the input processing strategy is searching for meaning first, which it must if the point of the interchange between learner and another locutor is information exchange, then those elements which are of greater communicative value will be attended to first and be processed. Those elements of little value will be ignored until there is sufficient attention and effort (as well as disposition) to allow for the processing system to work on them.

However, the foregoing statement is insufficient to account for all of L2 development. If several morphemes are equally important to the transmission of a message, why is there still an order of appearance in L2 speech? Why don't these structures appear simultaneously? It is here that frequency of occurrence in input may play an important role. Given two items of equal communicative value, information processing would "predict" that the item with a higher frequency of occurrence would be acquired first. As McLaughlin et al. state, automatic processes (as opposed to controlled) are built up through "...consistent and constant mapping of the same input to the same pattern of activation over many trials..." (1983:139). If acquisition is seen as the building up of automatic processes (those that require no attention or effort and do not interfere with controlled processes) that utilize the L2 system in the learner, then frequency of occurrence in input becomes important in establishing those processes.

In sum, it is suggested that there is an interaction between communicative value and frequency of input whereby once communicatively important forms are separated from communicatively non-important forms, then frequency of input guides the acquisition process in determining which forms will emerge before others. To be even more succinct, communicative value is primary; frequency of occurrence is secondary.

Conclusions

The intent of this paper was to extend current discussions about human information processing to the realm of input processing during SLA. To that end, it was argued that learners could process input solely for meaning. It was also argued that once meaning could be accessed automatically, then attention could be directed to certain "non-important" structures in the input. However, it was suggested that affective variables may contribute to whether or not these structures are indeed processed and that L2 learners may pidginize if attention is not directed toward items of lesser communicative value. It was also suggested that the processes involved in the reception and decoding of input help to explain the emergence of form in learner speech.

Several words of caution are necessary in the conclusions of this paper. First, the role of automatic and controlled processes in input processing needs to be investigated empirically. The communicative and learning strategies outlined in this paper are hypotheses based on data and reports previously published in the field. While the two strategies do help to account for certain phenomena already documented, predictions about L2 input processing based on the two strategies need to be made and then tested for experimentally. Such experimentation might involve searching for automatic and controlled processes during learner input processing. Experimentation might also involve testing learner comprehension when communicatively unimportant morphology and structure are deleted from recorded speech to see if input processing is affected. Second, it remains to be seen whether or not the learning strategy is only a controlled process or an interaction of controlled and automatic processes. Controlled processes are said to require attention and effort (consciously), but Krashen (1981) claims that conscious attention to grammar results only in a Monitor and not in a subconscious acquired system. Many of my advanced students of Spanish (teaching assistants) report that they often pay attention to *how* someone else is talking to them in Spanish. These students claim that they notice adjective agreement, certain tense usage, and other structures in other persons' speech. Are these students verbalizing in some way the learning strategy suggested in this paper? Since meaning of incoming speech is probably processed automatically by their information processing systems, are they now able to direct attention to other elements of the utterances directed at them? Is this what will now help them to acquire those forms? The Monitor Model says that conscious attention does not result in acquisition. Perhaps a distinction should be made between conscious grammatical practice/conscious learning and the ability of the information processing system to pick up on how a message is encoded. It seems reasonable, based on the hypotheses presented here, that a learner could be involved in meaningful exchange (focus on message) but at the same time be tuned in to certain aspects of structure in the input. Thus, a learner may become consciously aware of a structure in input, but not practice it overtly and not really "know" a rule for its usage. If this is the case, then the definition of Krashen's "acquisition" may need to be expanded to accomodate research involving information processing.

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CONDITIONS ON INTERLINGUAL SEMANTIC TRANSFER

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Introduction

In this study, we are concerned with interlingual semantic transfer, an L1-dependent psycholinguistic factor operative in second language (L2) lexico-semantic development. The concept of language transfer well captures the general tendency that L2 learners use what they know about their first language (L1) when approaching the task of learning another language (see Lado 1957, Stockwell and Bowen 1965, Jacobovits 1970, Taylor 1975, Kellerman 1977, 1979, Schachter 1983, Eckman 1977, Zobl 1980). Today, most research on language transfer concentrates on investigating the conditions under which language transfer commonly occurs or does not occur.

In general, our study deals with the conditions of transferability. For this purpose, we feel it important to take a limited-domain approach to the general phenomenon of language transfer for two related reasons. First, the subject matter is very complex. It seems that none of the available theories adequately account for all aspects of language transfer, no matter how broadly they stretch their formulations. The assumptions we make about syntactic transfer, for example, may or may not hold true in the case of semantic transfer. Second, by restricting the scope of investigation, we may be able to study the domain selected more thoroughly than before. Needless to say, each limited domain theory must be eventually incorporated into an integrative theory of language transfer.

The domain selected for this study is lexico-semantic development in adult second language learners. Any inquiry into the domain involves two fundamental

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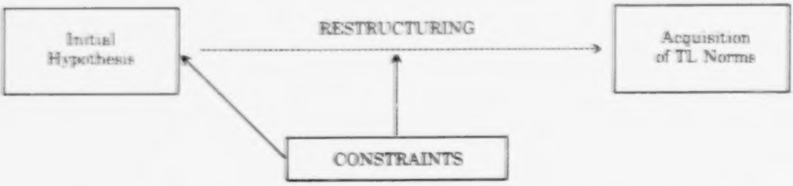
questions: (1) what constrains the initial hypothesis the student makes about a new target language (TL) word? (2) what constrains a restructuring process of a potentially non-normative hypothesis? The student must somehow assign meaning to a lexical form, and if the representation of the lexical meaning is incomplete or erroneous, then the student must restructure his hypothesis until he gains the native speaker's sensitivity to the meaning potential of the lexical item in question. The process of acquiring the meaning potential of a lexical item can be schematically expressed as follows:

FIGURE 1

A Process of Acquiring the Meaning Potential of a Lexical Item



We assume that interlingual semantic mapping (ISM) is operative in L2 lexico-semantic development; in a cognitive sense, the student maps what he knows about objects, events, and relations in L1 onto L2 lexico-semantics. The ISM has two components: (i) the *search-translation-equivalent* (STE) strategy and (ii) the *search-collocation – equivalent* (SCE) strategy. With the STE strategy, the learner attaches meaning to a newly perceived L2 item by searching for an L1-translation equivalent, while with the SCE strategy the learner transfers the range of the L1-word usage to the use of the L2 word. The unconstrained form of the SCE can be stated as follows: given the "W1 = W2", which is formulated through the STE strategy, the learner tends to transfer whatever possible in W1 (i.e., the L1 word perceived by the student as the translation equivalent of an L2 word, W2) to the use of W2.

Both the STE and SCE strategies are mechanisms for the mapping of L2 words onto pre-existing L1 concepts. We assume that ISM operates in lexico-semantic development as long as there exists a gap between what the learner wants to say and what he can actually say in the TL. On the basis of this assumption, we predict that language transfer is both pervasive and persistent in the domain of L2 lexico-semantics. We call this hypothesis the *Semantic Transfer Hypothesis* (STH) (Tanaka 1983, Abe and Tanaka 1983, Takahashi 1984). Though it remains for future research to determine exactly how pervasive and persistent semantic transfer is, we have some evidence in favor of the STH. Takahashi (1984), for example, asked 300 Japanese students to complete English sentences paired with their Japanese translations. The test items included the following:

(1) A. My sister doesn't think she is pretty because her nose is (short).
B. I'm not asking you if you can (ride) a motorcycle, but if you have one.

For item (1A), the Japanese version uses *hikui*, which is most strongly associated with English *low* from the Japanese student's point of view (Tanaka 1983). However, the use of *low* here is not acceptable; *short* is the normative adjective collocating with the item *nose*. Similarly, for item (1B), the Japanese version, which was given to the students in Takahashi's (1984) study, uses the verb *untensuru*, which is most strongly associated with English *drive; to drive a motorcycle* is not collocatively normative in English.

If the STH is valid, we then expect that Japanese ESL students show a strong tendency for using *low* and *drive* to complete items A and B, respectively. The following results were obtained from Takahashi's (1984) study:

TABLE 1
Incorrect use of drive for ride by 300 Japanese students

Level of Proficiency	DRIVE	Others
I (N = 100)	93(93%)	7(7%)
II (N = 97)*	75(77%)	22(23%)
III (N = 100)	75(75%)	25(25%)

*3 avoidance (Three gave no response to the item)

TABLE 2
Incorrect use of low for short by 300 Japanese students

Level of Proficiency	LOW	Others
I (N = 79)*	61(77%)	18(23%)
II (N = 78)**	65(83%)	13(17%)
III (N = 98)***	73(75%)	25(25%)

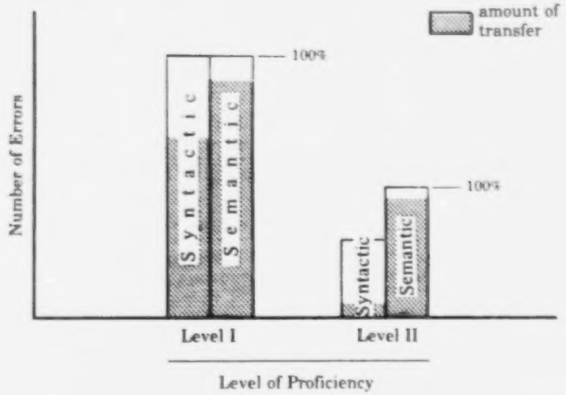
*11 avoidance **12 avoidance *** 2 avoidance

While the level of proficiency seems to have some effect on semantic transferability, Tables 1 and 2 provide fairly strong evidence for the claim that language transfer is both pervasive and persistent in lexico-semantic development. Tanaka (1983) provides further evidence for the STH in relation to the acquisition of English locatives by Japanese students. For example, consider the following test item:

(2) John is walking ________ the direction of the station.
(a) in (b) to (c) for (d) at (e) on

Of the 60 college students in Japan who responded to this item, 50 made incorrect responses; 46 (92%) chose *to*, which is an instance of semantic transfer motivated by the Japanese locative *e* [+direction, +goal]. Fifty-nine Japanese students, who were attending some American secondary school in New York, responded to item (2). Of the 59, 39 (66%) made incorrect responses; 36 out of 39 (92%) chose the locative *to*. In comparison with the acquisition-poor group, the acquisition-rich group made significantly fewer errors ($\chi^2(1) = 13.98$, $p < .001$). However, in terms of the proportion of semantic transfer and non-transfer errors, there was no significant difference between the two groups ($\chi^2(1) = 0.546$, NS). This suggests the possibility that the STH holds true regardless of learning contexts, though the number of transfer errors quantitatively decreases with increasing L2 proficiency. Figure 2 illustrates what we are suggesting here: the proportion of errors related to semantic transfer remains constant irrespective of level of proficiency, although the numbers of errors decreases with increased proficiency. This is basically the empirical claim made by the STH.

FIGURE 2
Level of Proficiency and
Amount of Language Transfer



Conditions on the Semantic Transfer Hypothesis

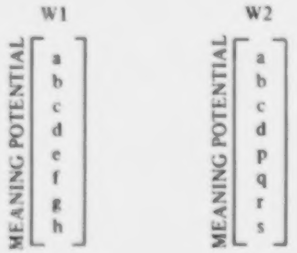
We know that the STH is too strong to capture the L2 learner's linguistic behavior adequately, especially in a developmental sense. There are at least two important phenomena to be explained within a framework of lexico-semantic development: (i) ***overextensions*** and (ii) ***underextensions***. In the case of overextensions (see Bloom 1973, Clark and Clark 1977), the student inappropriately applies a lexical item to a broader set of contexts than possible in the target language. In contrast, underextensions result when the student applies a lexical item to a narrower set of contexts than possible in the target language. In this case, one cannot assume that the student is able to use a word appropriately in different contexts simply because he uses the word correctly in one situation. (The STH throws no light on underextensions.)

Both over- and underextensions depend on the student's knowledge and the situational context where a given item is used. On the basis of his experience with a set of occurrences of a lexical item, W2, the student formulates an *item-specific hypothesis about W2 (i.e., W1* = W2) by means of the STE strategy. The hypothesis W1 = W2 means that W2 is the most strongly associated with W1 in the student's semantic schemata. Yet, *occurrence-specific* analysis of W1 and W2 reveals that the meaning potential of W1 does not always accord with that of W1. For example, consider the hypothetical interlingual analysis of W1 and W2 in Figure 3:

Figure 3
Hypothetical interlingual analysis of
W1 and W2 in terms of their meaning potential

Item-Specific Level: Hypothesis: W1=W2

Occurrence-Specific Level:



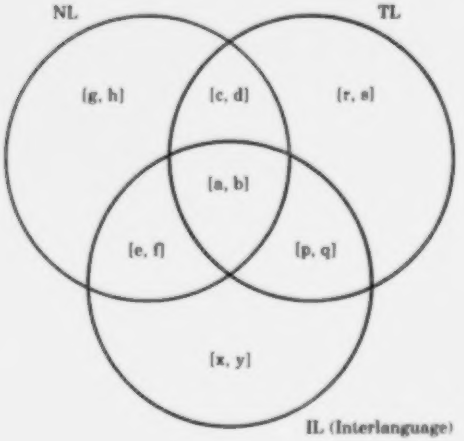
Analysis: W1 = W2: (a, b, c, d)
W1 ≠ W2: (e, f, g, h)/(p, q, r, s)

If ISM operates unconditionally, we predict that the student uses the word W2 wherever W1 is used. In other words, he uses W2 in the context of (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h) the use of W2 in (a, b, c, d) results in ***positive transfer***, while the use of W2 in (e, f, g, h) results in ***negative transfer***. Here, positive and negative transfer correspond to correct extensions and overextensions respectively.

However, this theory of semantic transfer has two major flaws. First, it does not account for the use of W2 in the context of (p, q, r, s). Second, it fails to account for the underextension phenomenon; students use the L1 knowledge only selectively when learning a second language (Kellerman 1979, Tanaka 1983). Figure 4 illustrates a more realistic picture of the student's behavior in second language.

FIGURE 4

Interlanguage Phenomena to be Explained within a Theory of Lexico-semantic Development



In Figure 4, the domain (c, d) represents no occurrence of positive transfer (see Kellerman 1979). The domain (g, h) represents no occurrence of negative transfer. Overextensions are observed in the domains (e, f) and (x, y); overextensions in (e, f) are motivated by negative transfer, while overextensions in (x, y), by what may be called "lexical creativity" (Clark 1983). Underextensions are observed in (c, d) and (r, s), where the domain (c, d) is related to language transfer, and the domain (r, s) to some L1-independent process. Thus, the phenomena to be explained within a theory of lexico-semantic development include the following questions: (1) Why is it that positive transfer occurs in the domain (a, b), not in (c, d)? (2) Why is it that negative transfer occurs in the domain (e, f), not in (g, h)? (3) Why is it that the student picks up the domain (p, q), instead of (r, s)?

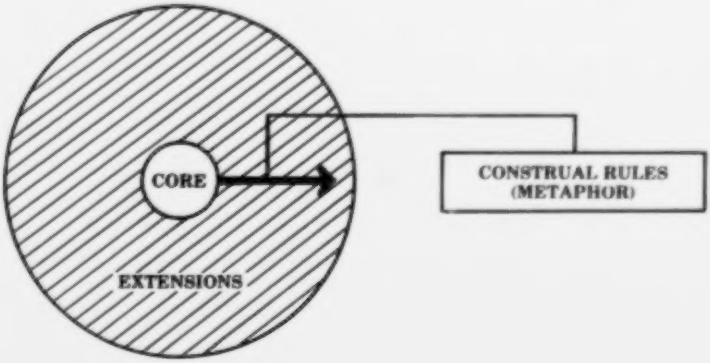
In the following sections, we propose that *prototypicality* and *specific-exemplariness* are the conditions that elicit over- and underextensions, and help explain developmental patterns of appearance and disappearance of those phenomena.

The Prototype Condition

The notion of *prototype* was originally proposed by Rosch (1973) as a means of explaining the internal structure of semantic and perceptual categories, and later, applied to a theory of semantic development in children (see Anglin 1977, Clark 1977, Nelson 1977). Each lexical item or category has an nth number of occurrences or exemplars. There are central or good exemplars (prototypes), and poor, non-prototypical exemplars. Thus, prototypes represent the most typical member of a given category. Take the category *fruit*, for example. Most of us will agree that apples and oranges are good exemplars, while figs and olives are poor exemplars of fruit (Armstrong, Gleitman, and Gleitman 1983).

Rosch thinks that the internal structure of a category is "composed of a 'core meaning' which consists of the 'clearest cases' (best examples) of the category, 'surrounded' by other category members of decreasing similarity to that core meaning" (1973: 112). Along the same line, we may argue that each lexical item has a core or central meaning (i.e., prototype), and there are some kinds of "construal rules that govern the ways [the] core sense can be extended to provide other senses"(Miller 1978: 102). Thus, the internal structure of a lexical item looks like the following:

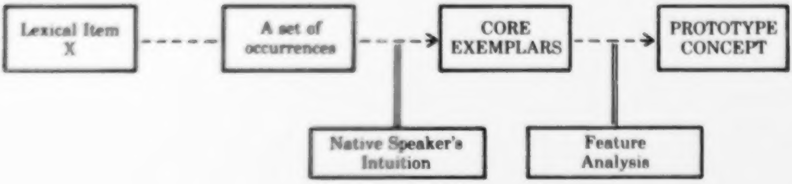
FIGURE 5
The Internal Structure of a Lexical Item



How do we identify core senses, then? Procedurally, we provide native speakers with a set of occurrences of a lexical item and ask them to rank order the occurrences in terms of prototypicality. The native speakers will be able to distinguish core exemplars from non-core exemplars in a probabilistic sense (see Kellerman 1979), although a fine analysis is difficult to make. As shown in Figure 6, the feature analysis of core exemplars should, in principle, identify certain salient semantic features which, we assume, characterize the prototype concept of the lexical item in question.

FIGURE 6

Procedures to Determine the Core (Prototype) Concept of a Lexical Item



While these procedures are probabilistic and highly subjective in nature, it is important to note that we are primarily concerned with how native speakers think of the coreness of a given item, not with a rigid semantic analysis of the item in question. For example, given the following list:

(3) (a) Two parallel *lines* never meet.
(b) They were arrested at the state *line*.
(c) Please *line* up the block.
(d) What *line* of work are you at?
(e) Could you read over the actor's *lines?*

Hatch says that "most people tend to choose the first example as the most core meaning for line, then the second, and so on" (1983: 70-71). The core meaning or prototype concept of *line* seems to include "something one dimensional connecting two points" (Miller 1978: 101).

There are, however, at least two problems with this approach. First, while it may be empirically easy to distinguish core exemplars from non-core exemplars, it is difficult to rank order non-core exemplars in terms of prototypicality because of the "fuzzy" nature of non-core boundaries. Second, we must somehow find a way to characterize the mechanism that relates the core sense to non-core senses. The first problem requires a theory of markedness that distinguishes more than two levels; the second problem, a theory of metaphor (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Admitting that our argument remains incomplete as long as these two problems remain unsolved, we nevertheless consider the relationship between transferability and prototypicality, a relationship that presumably deals with the domains (a, b), (c, d), (e, f), and (g, h) in Figure 4.

Kellerman (1979) suggests three constraints on language transfer: (1) the learner's perception of the typological distance between L1 and L2, (2) the learner's perception of markedness of a potentially transferable item in his L1, and (3) the learner's knowledge of the L2. While Kellerman suggests that these three are interrelated, constraint (2) is most relevant to our on-going discussion. Concisely, it says: the more marked is an item, the less transferable the item is. For example, Kellerman had Dutch students of English sort 17 cards with sentences using Dutch *breken* (break), and asked them to judge whether or not Dutch *breken* in each sentence is transferable to English. Kellerman found a negative correlation between transferability and relative degree of coreness/markedness. In general, "marked forms will be potentially less transferable than unmarked ones," where "markedness is a blanket term subsuming such features as frequence, productiveness, semantic transparency, coreness, etc." (1979: 53).

We asked 70 college students learning English in Japan to make acceptability judgements about the two sentences below:

(4) A. John *borrowed* the book from Bill.
B. John *borrowed* the idea from Bill.

Japanese *kariru* ('borrow') is used in both cases. However, the 70 students' responses were as follows:

TABLE 3
70 Japanese college students' responses to two English sentences using *borrow* in terms of acceptability

Sentence	ACCEPT	REJECT
BOOK	61 (87%)	9 (13%)
IDEA	21 (30%)	49 (70%)

The results in Table 3 accord with Kellerman's suggestion: the student accepted a prototypical occurrence of *borrow* much more strongly than an extended use of *borrow*. (Here we may note that markedness and prototypicality are almost synonymous, although the phenomenon of markedness can be explored on purely formal, linguistic grounds (Birwisch 1967), while the phenomenon of prototypicality requires empirical research dealing with how people think of a given category [or item].)

Following Kellerman's (1979) transfer theory we may predict that idiomatic expressions are resistant, by and large, to language transfer because students tend to feel that their L1 idioms are language-specific. We asked 88 Japanese college students to judge whether or not the following interlingual equivalents were valid:

(4) (a) E: When they were young, they *made many babies*. (made → had)
J: wakakata toki, karera wa takusan *kodomo o tsukutta*.

(b) E: His father is a *one corner person*. (one corner → respectful)
J: kare no chichi wa *hitokado no jinbutsu* da.

(c) E: I have *thrown a spoon to* that boy. (thrown a spoon to → given up on)
J: sono ko niwa *saji o nageta*

(d) E: I'm always *pulling his legs* when he has to study. (pulling his legs → bothering)
J: kare ga benkyoo o shinakutewa naranai toki itsu mo watashi ga *ashi o hippatteiru*.

The students were also asked to rank the Japanese sentences in terms of idiomaticity. The results are given in Table 4:

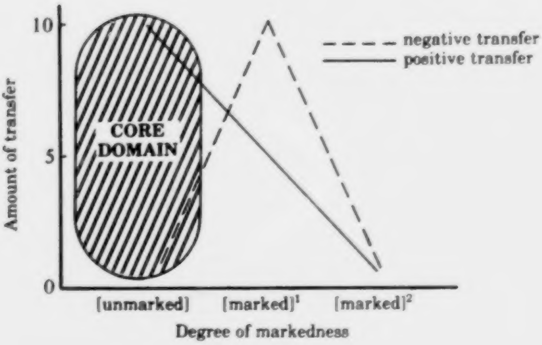
TABLE 4
Idiomaticity and acceptability of incorrect English sentences by Japanese college students (N = 88)

Items	ACCEPT	REJECT	Idiomaticity ranking
a	35 (40%)	53 (60%)	4
b	13 (15%)	75 (85%)	1
c	19 (22%)	69 (78%)	2
d	29 (33%)	59 (67%)	3

The Japanese ESL students judged that (b) and (c) were intuitively more idiomatic than (a) and (d). The results are generally interpretable within the framework suggested by Kellerman (1979): semantic transparency or idiomaticity seems to have something to do with the results. It is important here to note that Kellerman's experiment dealt with positive transfer i.e., the domains (a, b) and (c, d), whereas our informal study was concerned with negative transfer i.e., the domains (e, f) and (g, h). On the basis of Kellerman's and our studies, we might argue that transferability negatively correlates with markedness, irrespective of the valence (±) of language transfer. However, this view is faulty.

Tanaka suggested that "the effect of positive transfer decreases with increasing markedness, and yet, the effect of negative transfer is weak with unmarked/prototype items, gradually becoming stronger with increasing markedness up to a certain point, from which it becomes weaker again" (1983: 106), as illustrated in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7
A Hypothetical Relation between Degree of Markedness and Transferability

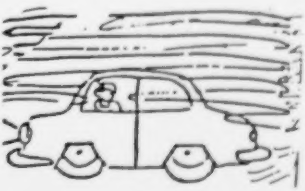


Negative transfer is weak in the core domain for two reasons: (1) no marked variation tends to be found in the core domain from a cross-linguistic point of view, and (2) even if some cross-linguistic variation is observed at the linguistic level, the core still remains the same at the conceptual level. The first reason will be captured in what we call the *prototype hypothesis:* if languages A and B have a category X, then the core concept of X is the same. This predicts a strong tendency for language-universals in the core domain (Berlin and Kay 1969, Rosch 1973). The second reason suggests that prototype items are relatively easier than extended items even when negative transfer is operating in both cases.

Let us assume that the prototype concept of the locative ***in*** includes the semantic feature [+ a three-dimensional container with physical boundaries]. The Japanese locative ***naka-ni*** ('in') has same prototype concept. With this in mind, consider the four pictures below:

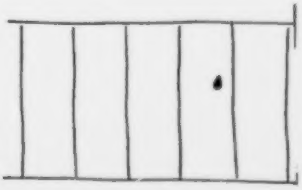
(5)

There's plenty of coffee ___ the pot.



John's driving ___ heavy fog.

John lives ___ a new brick house.



There's a hole ___ the wall.

In the spatial relation *X in Y*, the item using Y is considered a prototype case if the Y is characterized as a three-dimensional container with physical boundaries. Thus, the POT and HOUSE items are prototypical in terms of the use of *in*, while the WALL and FOG items are extended. However, at the linguistic level, the realization of the core concept varies from language to language. Take the HOUSE item, for example. In the context ***John wa rengazukuri no ie (*** ***) sundeiru***, Japanese ***naka-ni*** is very unlikely to be used; the locative ***ni***, which corresponds to English *at*, is normatively used. The STH predicts that Japanese ESL students use *at* instead of *in*, thus saying "John lives at a new brick house." However, the prototype condition suggests that it will be perceptually easy for

Japanese students to correctly determine the spatial relation of *John* and *a brick house*, despite a potential 'trap' of an interlingual gap (i.e., in ≠ ni).

A total of 284 Japanese college students were randomly assigned to one of the four groups; each group (N = 71) did one of the four items in (5). The results are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5
A summary data of the Japanese students' responses to the POT, HOUSE, FOG, and WALL items

Items	IN	Others
POT [positive transfer, prototype] (N = 71]	60 (84.5%)	11 (15.5%)
HOUSE [negative transfer, prototype] (N = 71)	53 (74.6%)	18 (25.4%)
FOG [positive transfer, extended] (N = 71)	46 (64.8%)	25 (35.2%)
WALL [negative transfer, extended] (N = 71)	17 (23.9%)	54 (76.1%)

We may compare HOUSE with WALL with respect to the use of *in*. The significant difference (X^2 (1) = 36.52, p. < .001) is due to prototypicality because the Japanese subject's responses to both items can be constrained by negative transfer. Also, compare the POT item with the FOG item; positive transfer can operate in both cases. However, we obtained the correct response *in* more often for the POT item than for the FOG item (X^2 (1) = 7.28, p. < .01). The explanation involves prototypicality: the FOG item is more extended than the POT item in terms of the use of the locative *in*. Thus, the results show that negative transfer is relatively weak with prototype/unmarked items; prototypicality seems to be a condition that maximizes or minimizes the free operation of semantic transfer. Returning to Figure 4, prototypicality seems to be operative in the domain (c, d) which represents the underextension phenomenon. Likewise, the prototype condition seems to throw light on the question of why negative transfer does not occur in the domain (g, h).

The Specific Exemplar Condition

The STH constrained by the prototype condition still leaves a lot to be desired. In the Kellerman's (1979) study, his subjects judged *to break one's leg* and *to break one's heart* equally transferable. With respect to the use of *break*, we would intuitively say that *to break one's heart* is more extended or idiomatic than the prototypical expression *to break one's leg*. According to Kellerman (1979), both expressions are "core" examples of the use of *break*, though *heart* is more abstract than *leg*. His subjects judged both expressions equally transferable; hence, it seems that concreteness is not "crucial in decisions to transfer" (Kellerman 1979: 52) and what is crucial is, according to Kellerman, coreness. However, the problem is this. On the one hand, idiomatic expressions tend not to be interlingually transferred. On the other hand, a core exemplar like *break one's heart*, which is an idiomatic expression in a sense, is transferable as easily as a core exemplar like *break one's leg*.

We suggest that a theory of lexico-semantic development is incomplete to the extent that it ignores the specific exemplar condition. It is possible that Kellerman's subjects were familiar with the expression *break one's heart* as well as *break one's leg*. At this point, consider the Kellerman's (1979) data which show the rank order of 17 uses of Dutch *breken* in terms of transferability:

TABLE 6
Kellerman's (1979) data: the rank order of 17 uses of Dutch *breken* from most transferable to least transferable

Use	%	Use	%
leg	81%	ice	33%
heart	79%	ceasefire	28%
cup	64%	light rays	25%
man	61%	resistance	22%
word	60%	fall	17%
record	51%	voice	17%
oath	47%	afternoon	11%
waves	35%	strike	9%
law	34%		

Kellerman reports that "this rank order correlates *poorly* with the 'concrete-abstract' rank order (Spearman's p = .129, n.s.) and *very well* with the 'coreness' order (p = .837, significant at .0005)" (1979:51). However, we do not have a satisfactory definition of "coreness." Kellerman admits, "I cannot at this stage offer any linguistic or other a priori means of determining the 'coreness' of an item, but the ordering of meanings above seems intuitively acceptable" (1979:50). It is difficult to intuitively distinguish *break one's heart* from *break one's record*, even though Kellerman suggests, "frequency may be a crucial, if presently untestable, factor here" (1979: 50).

It seems more likely to say that both *break one's heart* and *break one's record* are relatively extended in comparison with the prototypical use of *break* such as *break one's cup* and *break one's leg*. The differences between *break one's heart* and *break one's record*, and between *break one's cup* and *break one's leg*. In Table 6 with respect to transferability are presumably a function of the student's experience or familiarity with such expressions. We will capture this point in terms of the Specific Exemplar Condition.

Let us note that no transfer theory throws light on the domains (p, q) and (r, s) in Figure 4. Neither does any transfer theory explain why Dutch students felt that ***break*** (leg) is more transferable than ***break*** (cup), though both seem equally good candidates for core exemplars. To clarify this point, consider the following illustrative occurrences of an item X:

(6)	Item X:	[A, B, C, D] transferable core exemplars	[E, F, G, H] transferable non-core exemplars

In (6), it is quite possible that even among the transferable core exemplars [A, B, C, D], students transfer only A and D, not B and C. In the same vein, among the transferable non-core exemplars, students may transfer G and H, not E and F. Notice that the STH constrained by the prototype condition predicts that students transfer the core exemplars [A, B, C, D], and do not transfer the extended exemplars [E, F, G, H].

To provide some evidence for the former possibility, we asked 135 Japanese college students to judge whether or not the following "core exemplars" of *make* are acceptable in English:

(7) A. Nancy ***makes*** a doll for June.
B. Nancy ***makes*** cake for June.
C. Nancy ***makes*** a bookcase for June.

Table 7 summarizes the results:

TABLE 7
A summary data for the MAKE items responded by 135 Japanese college students

Item	ACCEPT	REJECT
DOLL	119 (88.1%)	16 (11.9%)
CAKE	113 (83.7%)	22 (16.3%)
BOOKCASE	79 (58.5%)	56 (41.5%)

Notice that we are unable to claim that ***make*** (bookcase) is less core than the other two in terms of the use of ***make***. Nevertheless, our subjects rejected ***make*** (bookcase) more strongly than ***make*** (doll) and ***make*** (cake). What is suggested here is that the ESL student's use of a given lexical item tends to be restricted to specific contexts.

In order to pursue the problem of underextensions, we did a more controlled study. Consider the deictic verbs ***bring*** and ***take***, contrasted with their Japanese equivalents below:

(8)

English	*Japanese*
BRING [± animate]	tsuretekuru [+ animate]
	mottekuru [– animate]
TAKE [± animate]	tsureteiku [+ animate]
	motteiku [– animate

The distinction between the Japanese items in each is determined by the distinguishing feature of the X word in *bring/take* (X) (this has been suggested by Tomoko Takahashi [personal communication]). In English, *bring* and *take* are used both for animate and for inanimate things, as follows:

(9) (a) When you visit us, please *bring* a bottle of wine with you.

(b) When you visit us next time, why don't you *bring* your children with you?

(c) When you go to New York next time, please *take* me there with you.

(d) When you go out tonight, don't forget to *take* an umbrella with you.

In order to investigate whether or not Japanese ESL students use *bring* and *take* similarly, we randomly assigned 60 college students to one of the four groups: (1) *bring* [– animate], (2) *bring* [+ animate], (3) *take* [– animate], and (4) *take* [+ animate]. Each *bring* and *take* was deleted from the sentences in (9); the student's task was to complete the sentence so as to fit the context specified by the Japanese translation. The results are shown in table 8.

Table 8
A summary data of the BRING and TAKE study

	BRING	TAKE
Animate	6/15 (40%)	13/15 (86.7%)
Inanimate	14/15 (93.3%)	12/15 (80%)

In the case of *take*, the subjects seem to be familiar with *take* (X [+ animate]) as well as *take* (X [– animate]), while most subjects are familiar with the exemplar *bring* (X [– animate]), not with *bring* (X [+ animate]). The results in Table 8 suggest that the student's knowledge about a given lexical item is restricted to particular cases.

The Specific Exemplar Condition states that in learning a second language the student picks up certain specific exemplars of X, where X is a word, a phrase, or a sentence, and behaves on the basis of the chosen specific exemplars (see Tanaka 1983, Kawade 1984b). The operating principle here is that the student sticks to a particular familiar use(s) of X; the student does not take a risk of being wrong. As a result, language transfer does not occur where we expect it to occur. The Specific Exemplar Condition also explains why the student uses a given item in the domain (p, q), but not in the domain (r, s).

The Specific Exemplar Condition thus accounts for the phenomenon of underextension, and the problem of non-transfer. However, there is a subtle way the Specific Exemplar Condition relates to the phenomenon of overextension. Let us suppose that an ESL student has picked up the expression *listen to the music* as a specific exemplar of *listen to*. Kawade (1984a) suggests that L2 students tend to pick up specific exemplars as unanalyzed chunks; hence, the word *music* almost automatically triggers the verb *listen to* to form the chunk *listen to the music*. There is a possibility that students overextend *listen to* to a context like the following:

(10) Do you ____________ the music out there? They are having a party or something.

where the verb *hear* is normative. The source of specific exemplars can be traced to the input to which the student is exposed (including the teacher and teaching materials).

Tomoko Takahashi (personal communication) pointed out an interesting case of the Specific Exemplar Condition. In the sentence below both *speak* and *talk* are equally good responses.

(11) Would you __________ more slowly? I don't understand English very well.

However, 86% of 300 Japanese ESL students gave *speak*, and only 6% gave the response *talk*. The word *English* motivates *speak* more strongly than *talk* because the Japanese ESL student tends to have the expression *speak English* as the specific exemplar of *speak*. Thus, the preference of *speak* over *talk* in (11) seems to be related to the Specific Exemplar Condition in a rather interesting way.

How do we know that a student has such and such items as specific exemplars? One possibility is a word-association approach. Tanaka (1983) suggested that in order to make a linguistic analysis from the student's point of view, we must take *the strength of word association* into consideration. For example, given the following:

(12) His voice is so __________ that it hurts my ears.

Japanese ESL students tend to choose *big* if they make incorrect responses. In Takahashi's (1984) study, of the 300 subjects who responded to item (12), 182 (60.7%) made incorrect responses. Of the 182 subjects, 116 (63.7%) chose *big*, and 37 (20.3%) chose *large*. The question is why the Japanese students used *big* much more frequently than *large*. Both *big* and *large*, if given in a null context, are translated into Japanese *ookii*. However, if Japanese students are asked to provide the English equivalent of Japanese *ookii* in a null context, most of them tend to say *big*. Our informal study substantiated this. Thus, we may say that Japanese *ookii* is most strongly associated with English *big* in the Japanese student's mind.

We may extend this word association technique to the study of specific exemplars. We may present the item to be investigated to a large number of students in a null context, as in (13):

(13) WATCH ☐

The students provide as many noun phrases as they can think of within ten seconds. Data analysis involves calculating the frequency of the responses made by the students. The responses with the highest frequency will be considered to be most strongly associated with the item in question. This procedure seems to work satisfactorily in the case of verbs and possibly adjectives, while we don't know how to investigate specific exemplars with reference to substantive words (nouns) and other part-of-speech words.

Summary and Implications

In this study, we proposed the STH, which predicts that language transfer is both pervasive and persistent. The STH is based on Interlingual Semantic Mapping which has two components: the STE and the SCE. The STE constrains the initial hypothesis the student makes about a new L2 word; the SCE constrains the restructuring process of the initial hypothesis. We also suggested that the STH should be constrained by prototypicality and specific exemplariness in order to account for over- and under-extensions.

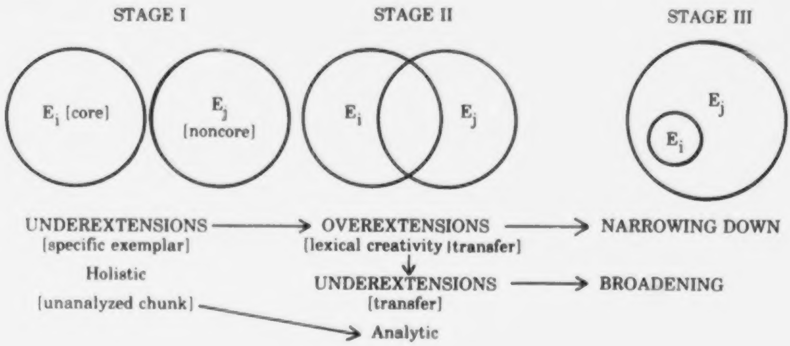
Referring back to Figure 4, the domains (e, f) and (x, y) represent overextensions; the domains (c, d) and (r, s) represent underextensions. The overextension in the domain (e, f) is motivated by language transfer; the overextension in (x, y) is motivated by lexical creativity, although we do not know the nature of lexical creativity. The underextension in the domain (c, d) is related to language (non-)transfer, which is motivated in turn by prototypicality. The nonoccurrence of transfer in the domain (g, h) is also due to the effect of prototypicality. The underextension in the domain (r, s) is motivated by the Specific Exemplar condition.

Thus, we have proposed the STH, the SE condition, and the prototype condition that are operating, presumably interactively, in a total process of lexico-semantic development in adult L2 learners.

Finally, we must consider a developmental issue. How are over- and underextensions related in a developmental sense? In the case of child language development, underextensions tend to occur in the first stages of acquiring lexical items, and overextensions characterize later stages of lexico-semantic development. The child learns to extend lexical items correctly along with experience with exemplars and non-exemplars, and with feedback about past and present decisions about the use of items.

Like children, the adult L2 learners may at first use an item in a limited set of contexts. Underextensions motivated by the specific exemplar condition characterize the initial stages of L2 lexico-semantic development, and underextensions motivated by prototypicality appear in later stages along with L1-related overextensions and lexical creativity. Later on, overextensions will be narrowed down and underextensions broadened until the student's semantic structure of the TL item in question matches the adult native speaker's. With the developmental process suggested here, we may further speculate that the learner develops a core-noncore relationship of lexical exemplars through a series of restructuring as suggested in Figure 8:

FIGURE 8
A Developmental Process of Lexico-semantics in a Second Language



Initially, the learner picks up core (Ei) and noncore (Ej) exemplars of a lexical item and treats them as if Ei and Ej were separate: In Stage I Ei and Ej are independently learned in application to specific situations. At this stage, the student is not aware of the core-noncore distinction of exemplars. In Stage II the student begins to notice that Ei bears some resemblance to Ej, and that Ei and Ej are somehow related to each other. It is presumably in this stage that the student becomes both adventurous and cautious in his attempt to use Ei and Ej. Perhaps experience with L1-related over-extension errors leads to L1-related underextensions. The rule is: don't transfer what is possible in W1 to the use of W2 when dealing with extended exemplars. The core-noncore relationship of Ei and Ej gradually becomes clear in Stage III, along with the continual process of narrowingdown and broadening.

What is suggested here is an oversimplified model of lexico-semantic development in adult L2 learners. It remains for future research to indicate on empirical grounds how the model should be revised. In particular, future research should suggest the criteria for the learner's decision-making process concerning the coreness of exemplars; it should also suggest what kind of feedback is essential to encouraging the student to restructure his non-normative hypotheses. The former will bring about theoretical implications; the latter, pedagogical ones.

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TWO WINDOWS ON THE CLASSROOM WORLD: DIARY STUDIES AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION DIFFERENCES

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Anyone who has engaged in research of any kind knows that there are many different approaches that can be used to answer any research question. In second language acquisition and classroom research, several writers about research theory have made a division between two major types of methods. The first division consists of the traditional research method borrowed from the physical sciences: the experimental method. Ochsner (1979:55) in his discussion of research methods, aligns this kind of research with other research having names such as nomothetic, empirical, quantitative, scientific, natural science, classical science, and vertical thinking. Basically this type of research is characterized by hypothesis testing of carefully controlled and measured variables under controlled conditions or in controlled situations.

The second general kind of research is sometimes called naturalistic research. Ochsner would align this research with other research having names such as idiographic, rational, qualitative, humanistic, observational, phenomenological, Geisteswissenschaften, grounded/structural, ethnomethodology, ethnography/ethnology, and lateral thinking (1979:55). This kind of research is characterized by observation and description of data under natural circumstances.

Ochsner proposes that persons engaged in second language acquisition (and he subsumes language learning in that term) should "alternate between two *equal* kinds of research" (1979:53): the nomothetic experimental method, as he calls it, and a hermeneutic non-experimental method. Ochsner claims that the use of both kinds of research will allow us to both explain and understand SLA.

Long (1980) also discusses the differences between two methods of classroom research. He makes his division between structured observational systems,

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such as Flander's Interaction Analysis, and less structured systems like ethnography. Both the hermeneutic research which Ochsner discusses and the ethnographic research which Long discusses have sometimes been called "naturalistic" research. Figure 1 lists the characteristics (especially the contrasting ones) which are generally attributed to experimental and naturalistic methods used in SLA.

FIGURE 1
Comparison of Traditional and Naturalistic Methods

EXPERIMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS	NATURALISTIC CHARACTERISTICS
Generalizable through–	Not generalizable except through–
• Internal validity	• External validity
• Group statistical average	• Individual truth on factors
• Large N chosen randomly	• Massive data about small N
• Controlled circumstances	• Natural settings and circumstances
Implies a single reality/answer	Implies multiple realities/answers
• Hypothesis testing	• Hypothesis generating
• Pre-conceived assumptions about system	• No pre-conceptions so factors can be discovered
• Instruments structure what can be seen so observation is an answser	• Observer sees and then structures so observation is a tool
	• More detailed, comprehensive, richer
Looks for causes, explanations, HOW event occurred	Looks for purposes, understanding, WHY event occurred
• Leads to prediction	• Leads to interpretation
	• Same data can be interpreted differently
Objective because it has the perspective of outsider	Subjective because it has the perspective of participant
	• Bias recognized; better to trust a known bias than a bias hidden behind supposed objectivity
	• Probes own motives and understanding
	• Categories formed are guided by participants' own orientations
	• Perceived factors may not be real factors
Main focus on external data	Main focus on internal data
• Measurable factors	• Personal factors
	• Psychological factors
	• Affective factors
Treats human beings as things	Treats human beings as humans
	• May increase empathy of observer
Replication possible	Replication impossible
	• Only as good as person doing it
	• Problems with retrievability of data
Can require only a short time	Usually requires a long time

Under either of the two major divisions of empirical and naturalistic research there are several research designs from which to choose. For example, Hatch and Farhady (1982), in their book *Research Design and Statistics for Applied Linguistics*, list two designs as "True Experimental Designs" and several more as fitting in the categories of "Pre-Experimental Designs" and "Quasi-Experimental Designs." In a similar vein, Long (1980) lists several different types of research, such as diary studies and participant observation, in his examination of more naturalistic methods.

Naturalistic methods of research have become more popular in recent years. This is partially due to the work of research methodologists like Ochsner and Long, but it is also due to the work of Bailey (Forthcoming 1980a, and 1980b), Schumann and Schumann (1977), and others who have used the methods and shown them to be of value. As more methods have become popular, researchers are faced with more choices as they confront any research question. A correct choice of research methodology is important because, as Hatch and Farhady state:

> There are, clearly, many different approaches to take in answering any research question. . . Selecting one particular approach should depend on the nature of the research question and the hypotheses that you have made. . . If you select the most appropriate research method and follow the conventions which make it systematic, you should be able to make valid statements about the results of your study when you finish (1982:6).

The purpose of this paper is to provide information about two naturalistic methods in comparison to each other so classroom researchers can make informed and wise choices. The two methods to be examined are diary studies and participant observation.

A definition of the diary study is given in Bailey and Ochsner:

> A diary in second language learning, acquisition or teaching is an account of a second language experience as recorded in a first person journal. . . The central characteristic of the diary studies is that they are introspective: the diarist studies his own teaching or learning. . . The diary studies differ from SLA case studies primarily because the diarist supplements his observation of events with introspection and self-observations. However, the first person diaries may also be (re)analyzed by other researchers (1980:2).

Diary studies may differ from one another in several ways, some of which are apparent from the Bailey and Ochsner definition. First, the researcher may or may not be the diarist.This means that the diarists may differ in their degree of naivete about the language learning process. This may be an important consideration when one realizes that most of the diaries used in classroom research studies so far have been kept by language pedagogues turned language learners for the purposes of their studies. Another way in which diary studies may differ is in the degree of retrospection which is used in writing them. They may be written during the language class, shortly or a long time after the class. Most diaries used in second language acquisition studies have been written shortly after the classes being researched. A third way in which diaries may differ is in the language in which they are kept – L1 or L2. Interactive journals are often kept in the L2 because that is the language of the teacher. Most other diaries have been kept in L1 because learners can express themselves more fully in their native tongue. For the purposes of this paper, any study is considered a diary study if there is a first person account of the second language learning experience regardless of who the diarist is (researcher or not), when the diary is written, or what the language of the diary is.

Participant observation, on the other hand, is described in the following manner by Long:

> In a participant study, the observer takes a regular part in the activities he or she is studying, e.g., by becoming a member of a street gang or joining a political group. When the researcher further chooses not to reveal his or her true identity and motives, there is the opportunity to observe properly natural behavior. . . Participant observers do not always follow the course of concealment. Some of those that hide their motives attempt to become, at least temporarily, true members of the "culture" they are studying by adopting its values and life style as much as possible.
>
> Ethnographers do not set out to test particular hypotheses in any formal sense. Instead, they try to describe all aspects of whatever they experience in the greatest possible detail. This they accomplish principally by making extensive written notes, usually recording their observations as soon as possible after involvement in the day's activities in order to avoid compromising their own participant role. Note-taking is as systematic and as thorough as the individual ethnographer cares to make it, and much has been written on the subject (1980:22).

As this description shows, the participant observation may also differ in several ways. For example, the observer may choose to hide his or her real intentions and identity and become, as much as possible, a member of the group being studied (in this case, the language class). Participant observations may also differ in how much of a participant the observer is. Long (1980) differentiates between participant and non-participant observation but other research methodologists (see Bogdan and Taylor 1975, for example) use the term "participant observation" to refer to the research whether the observer is a full participant or not. Patton (1980) claims that the observer may be either a full participant or a complete non-participant in the qualitative research mode. For the purposes of this paper, a study will be considered participant observation if the observer is in the language learning situation (classroom), recording in descriptive terms all possible data whether the observer is a full or lesser participant in the actual language learning.

Several claims have been made for the strengths and weaknesses of these two research methods. These claims are summarized and compared in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2
Summary of Claims about Two Research Methods

DIARY STUDIES	PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION
Good for focus on individual learner; self is object of study • Gives introspective supplements • Shows personal variables	Good for showing influence of school, community, societal context • Difficult to obtain complete distribution of attitudes
Takes place in most natural of settings • Especially true if diarist is researcher and/or naive • Dual role as participant and diarist may be obstacle	Never sure of naturalness of setting with observer present • More natural if researcher is full participant in learning • Interlanguage systems are very sensitive to even small differences in setting
• Retrospective journals not as good because immediacy is lost • Re-written versions lose the essence of the diary; primary data needs to be given	
Can be a tool for purposes other than research • Tool to self-awareness, evaluation, improvement	Allows testing of validity of ideas during period of observation • Can check observers' conclusions
• Could be used as tool to orient other learners	Allows many supplements in method

As can be seen from Figure 2, one major difference between these methods is in the actual focus that the research method handles well. The diary study is one of the best methods for getting at the individual learner variables. Long (1980) points out that with diary studies, introspection supplements other observation work. The work of John Schumann and Francine Schumann (1977) has also shown how diary studies cast light on personal variables in language learning, and Francine Schumann (1980) has even made a list of ten of these variables in her report from a diary study.

On the other hand, participant observation allows the researcher to see the way both students' and teachers' classroom behavior is influenced by the school, community, or entire society in which they are located. Long (1980) says that this is particularly true of the participant observation studies where the researcher is not a full participant (the kind he calls non-participant). Tarone, Swain, and Fathman have pointed out that environmental variables have not been investigated sufficiently in SLA research. They suggest that the "most immediately 'relevant' research for the classroom should be research done *in* the classroom" (1976:26). Participant observation seems to be a good tool for that particular kind of research. However, methodologists not specializing in SLA research (see Wilson 1977) have cautioned that even with participant observation it is difficult to get enough data to get a complete distribution of attitudes within a group to say nothing of a community or a society.

Another claim that research methodologists make for the diary study is that it takes place in the most natural setting possible, and that there is no research intrusion. This is true as long as the diarist is a participant in the class although the keeping of the diary itself may be causing some difference in the language learning situation. For example, Leichman says that the dual role as participant and diarist might cause an obstacle to the study of classroom learning. Leichman claims that retrospective journals are not as good because the immediacy of the situation is lost. "The immediacy of the problem is not there causing the anxieties or joys. One's memory is generally somewhat selective and tinted by subsequent events or thoughts" (Leichman n.d.:5). She adds that any re-written version of a diary study without the primary data loses the essence of the study. This suggests that under those conditions, the advantage of having the diary study in the natural setting might be weakened.

One of the weaknesses of the participant observation is the fact that the researcher may actually be changing the situation. Long puts it this way:

> While nonparticipant observers. . . usually familiarize participants with their presence. . . and try to establish a nonthreatening relationship before collecting data, there is never the certainty that what they see is exactly what would have occurred if they had not been present (1980:27).

These arguments basically show what would be considered a weakness in the participant observation method. The arguments are much weaker when the researcher is a complete participant in the classroom, actually learning the language with the rest of the students.

One strong claim for participant observation is that it allows the testing of the validity of the researcher's conclusions as the observation is actually taking place. Verification can be sought simply by eliciting comments from class members about a researcher's analysis or verification can be sought in further observation of participants' verbal and nonverbal behavior. In the broadest form of participant observation, verification of the researcher's conclusions can also be sought through the use of structured instruments much like those used in experimental methods. This verification is one of the strengths of participant observation.

A strength in using the diary study lies in the fact that it can be used for purposes other than the research itself. For example, Bailey claims that the keeping of a journal holds "considerable promise both as a research tool and as an aid to self-awareness" (1980a:64-65). Francine Schumann also suggests a way that a journal might be a tool for something other than research:

> . . .special orientation may be necessary to equip women language learners in countries such as Iran with techniques for gaining access to sufficient native speakers and thus sufficient input to acquire the TL. Perhaps journals of women who are successful second language learners in this type of situation would provide such orientation (1980:56).

Although claims of different strengths and weaknesses have been made for these two research methods, no researchers had systematically examined the claims by comparing results of the methods used in the same situation.

The study reported here was designed to give such a comparison. The data used in performing the comparison had already been gathered as part of study that examined the learning characteristics of older adult language learners (Brown 1983). How the data was collected and the methods of analysis are given below.

The learners studied in the original research consisted of thirty-six native English speakers involved in an eight-week intensive Spanish course for missionaries at the Missionary Training Center of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Eighteen of the learners (8M and 10F) were over age 55 and eighteen of the learners (8M and 10F) were under age 25. Their training consisted of eight weeks of intensive (sometimes more than eight hours a day) language and culture classes.

All the subjects for the diary study were given notebooks to use as language learning journals and were asked to write their thoughts and feelings as a language learner in them. The specific instructions for the journal are given in Appendix A. Approximately 61 journals were turned in and became the data for the diary study.

For the participant observation, the researcher was a participant observer in the activities of both the older and the younger subjects during 43 different observation periods. The periods varied in length from 15 minutes to 90 minutes and took place at various times throughout the day from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. They also took place on varying days throughout the week and in various locations including classrooms, cafeterias, halls, dormitories, and gymnasiums. Some of the observations were of activities in which only one of the subjects was involved and others included as many as 18 subjects at one time. There were approximately 44 hours of observations.

Field notes for the observations were kept by writing shorthand and some longhand notes while actually in the classrooms or other meetings where notetaking would be unobtrusive. Shorthand notes for all other activities were jotted down as soon as possible after the encounter took place. Eleven of the 43 observation sessions were audio-recorded.

Final observation notes were written as soon as possible after the observations and consisted of expanded versions of the original quick notes taken during the sessions and/or immediately after them. This procedure followed as closely as possible the notetaking methods suggested by Spradley (1980). The notes described the settings of the observations as well as the actions, mannerisms, and words of the participants. Possible interpretations of what these meant were also inserted in the final notes although these were kept separate from the descriptions through the use of brackets. There was a total of 430.5 double-spaced pages of final field notes. In addition to these regular field notes, there were 32 pages of supplementary materials gathered during the participant observations. These supplementary materials consisted of handouts which were given to the learners in the process of their activities as well as a large collection of poems, anecdotes, and pieces which one of the older learners produced because he had memorized all of them and thought they might interest others. Field notes produced with the aid of an audio-tape tended to be about 50% longer than those produced solely from notes by hand.

For the purposes of this comparison of research methods, the dates and places of the observations were noted and all of the journal data from all learners who were observed on those days were collected. This gave a total of 23 days for which there were 160.5 pages of field notes from participant observations and diary entries by 65 members of the same classes. The journal entries and the observation field notes for the same days were read and compared specifically looking for evidence that any of the claims made by research methodologists could be verified in the data.

Evidence presented in this paper for the claims of the research methodologists will be qualitative in nature, principally taken from the diaries themselves and from the field notes. Only one or two pieces of evidence will be presented for each point, but unless noted, there is a larger body of evidence from which the examples were selected.

The first strength that is claimed for diary studies is that they are good for focus on the individual learner, giving introspective supplements and showing personal variables. The following entries, taken from the journals and presented without correction of any kind, provide evidence that this claim is true:

> February 9, 1982: Today we learned a little more on the Indirect and direct object pronouns. It was very interesting to do this kind of this because it was harder than the other grammar lessons we had and it made you think a little (lot) bit. I found that after awhile it was fairly easy to write down what you wanted to say, but was very hard to get the swing of things. My companion and I started on a Spanish Marathon yesterday and have done well so far. I felt my speaking ability hadn't improved lately much so this should help us out to think more and stuff (Journal of YE11).
>
> February 9, 1982: Today we studied Indirect objects and Direct objects. It's difficult, but we are all catching on. I think the more we use it, the better we'll understand it. In class when the teacher is asking us to respond to questions (in this case, using indirect and direct object pronouns), it is much more difficult to respond or answer correctly when you're "on the spot," but being "on the spot" is what helps, I think, to really learn a concept (Journal of YE12).
>
> February 9, 1982: Today we went over indirect/direct objects in the language and boy that sure is tough. I think I'm understanding it more & more each day. I feel I'm starting to think more & more in Spaninh & not have to translate every single word. The language gets a little easier each day. Constant use & practice helps tremendously (Journal of YE02)!
>
> February 9, 1982: Today we reviewed the use of direct and indirect object pronouns. It is difficult to use both direct and indirect pronouns at the same time, although I can use one at a time without much thought. I feel that I am progressing as I should and I am doing well (Journal of YE04).
>
> February 9, 1982: Today we studied direct & indirect objects. It seems everytime I start to feel like I am able to catch on something new comes up and goes way over my head. I was able to understand but only if I could write it down and take a lot of time to figure it out. (Name of teacher) sure is a good teacher though anyone who is able to make me understand this stuff is reall talented. I am not holding up my end by retainning it. I just hope after enough practice and hearing it used it will come back to me and I will be able to pick it up (Journal of YE06).
>
> February 9, 1982: Today we reviewd somemore the Indirect object pronouns and Direct objet pronouns. I feel that I am begining to understand it better than I have ever been able to before! I feel that I am progresing more in the language more and more each day. I am trying

> to learn more vocabulary each day. Some of the things that I look up I have to look up five or six different times in order to remember it. Other things I can pick up just looking it up or hearing it one time. It is very interesting the different word that I have been able to pick up (Journal of YE07).
>
> February 9, 1982: Fried brain syndrom is what it's called & how I feel. Today we first learned about indirect & direct object actually we learned a week or so ago & went over it again that is not the simplest thing in the world for sure then all day we've been practicing for DMC tommorrow & passing off charlas to catch up so we are able to start H pretty soon my how time flies only 3 more charlas to learn & 3 weeks to do it in so we should have no problem. Since I've been speaking SYL better my language has improved immensely & that makes me happy (Journal of YS02).

Obviously there are some commonalities, such as mention of what the subject matter of the lesson was (direct/indirect pronouns), but the characteristics of the learners as they tackle the subject matter, as well as the language learning in general, are decidedly individual and show up in the journals as the research methodologists have claimed.

On the other hand, participant observation is supposed to be good for showing the influence of school, community, and societal context. There was evidence in this study that the participant observation did provide these kinds of data. For example, one of the first things that I was able to observe consistently as a participant observer was how disturbed the older learners were by the schedule at the Missionary Training Center. They felt that there were too many interruptions in the language learning. This became apparent by the grimaces in the classroom when a meeting about welfare services was announced. It also became apparent when I would find people studying in their dorrmitory rooms when they had been scheduled for other kinds of training. These learners were finding the additional training to be counterproductive. As one of them put it to me "It doesn't matter what else we know how to do. If we can't speak the language, we can't do it anyway." As a participant observer, I felt some of the same frustration with the changing schedule. I would go the the classroom expecting to find a class and I'd find that no one was there because of a special excursion to somewhere. The schedule is only one example of the ways that it was obvious the societal context impinged on the learning.

Nevertheless, I think it would be wrong to claim that diary studies and participant observation contrast completely on what they reveal. The learners' obsession with the schedule (i. e., an influence of the school) was also very evident in their diaries. In fact, time and scheduling was the single most-mentioned factor in the journals overall. While a single journal may not have made this societal influence clear as anything other than a personal variable, a collection of journals did.

Also, the participant observation can be a means of getting at personal variables if the researcher has individual contact with the learners. The following excerpts from some of the field notes demonstrates a very personal motivation for learning felt by one of the learners:

> SS07 said that she would try to memorize some little lines to say to her husband when he returned from class, but as soon as she would go to say them, she would forget what they were (Observation 9, p. 2).
>
> . . . .
>
> She said that she had the sweetest husband in the world. She didn't know how she got him – "Well, I chased him until I caught him." I said, "You chased him until he caught you." She smiled. She said she had told her husband that if there was any way for him to go on this mission alone so that she would not hold him back, she would go home. He told her that he couldn't do it alone even if there was a rule he could (Observation 9, p. 5).

The personal factor in this case – motivation to please her husband – showed up more clearly in the participant observation than in the journals. In other words, depending on how each is carried out, there is not as great a distinction between the individual factors gained in diary study and the societal factors gained in participant observation as might be thought.

The second claim that is made for the journals is that they take place in the most natural of settings, that the research effect is diminished. This claim is not upheld. The journals of the learners in my study show that the journal keeping itself makes a difference in the learning situation. For example, we have the following quotes from journals of the learners:

> I have been asked to write in this journal for 15 minutes a day and it will be difficult because I already write in my daily journal, but if it might help some one else . . . (Journal of SE07)
>
> . . . .
>
> Didn't continue because of illness – needed to let up on work (Journal of SE10).

Two corollaries to the idea of diary studies revealing learning in the natural setting – that dual role as participant and diarist is an obstacle, and that retrospective journals lose immediacy – were difficult, if not impossible, to judge with the available data. The point about the rewritten versions losing essence may be judged by noting the differences between examples given in this paper which contain the learners' own words and those containing paraphrases or general restatements of what the diarists said.

On the other hand, methodologists say that participant observation may cause the setting to be disturbed by the observer particularly if the observer is not a participant. This claim was upheld. The journals which were kept at the same time that the participant observation was taking place give ample evidence that the observer changed the setting. For example:

> Today Elder Someone was in the class with several others coming to visit – a woman from BYU and Elder Another and then later Elder One More. At least didn't get bored nor lonesome (Journal of SE04).

> I'm not sure what my reaction is to having too many visitors (spies) (that's a harsh word). I guess it tends to keep us on our toes and makes us want to learn faster (Journal of SE04).

> Elder Teacher was here waiting when I got back at 8:30 & we started working on the "ser" verb & I was putting together some sentences on equative sentences & Elder Teacher had stepped out in the hall waiting for me to complete the sentences & a lady tapped on my door & I invited her in. She is doing a research on the M. T. C. She listened to me @ length & then observed while Elder T. worked with me on translating sentences verbally in Español & we played a little guessing game in Español. The morning went well (Journal of SS07).

Out of 76 factors studied in this language learning situation, the research intrusion was mentioned thirty-fifth most often by the older learners and twenty-ninth most often by the younger learners (Brown 1983). So, although naturalistic methods do seem to allow study in more natural settings than traditional methods do, both naturalistic methods studied here, contrary to claims, did change the learning situation. The diary study did it less than the participant observation, but both did it.

One final claim for the diary study is that it could be used as a tool for purposes other than research. The other purposes might be evaluation, self-improvement, or orientation for other learners. There was some evidence that this claim was true. For example, the following excerpt shows a learner recognizing his own progress as well as evaluating ways to improve the training program:

> That was thurs., yesterday and today we attacted the verbs in their various forms, and a miracle started to happen. I began to understand and remember. How grateful I am! I suggested that we take the most likely verbs that I would be using and conjugate them in three tenses only, past, present, and future, and bear down on them, and it started to work. I believe we try to absorb too much at one time. We can in no way learn to speak all those conjugations to be specific, if we can learn to use the most important verbs in the most important forms or conjugations that would be the best thing we could learn while here (Journal of SE07).

Like this learner, many other learners gave evidence in their journals of being aware of their progress. It may be that the awareness would have come without the journals, but writing it down made it very evident.

The final claim for participant observation, which this study also upheld, was the claim that it allows for checking the validity of conclusions reached during the research. This can be seen in the following example where, in the process of one participant observation, one of the learners told me that her husband was in a different class because he had spoken quite a bit of Spanish with Mexican friends when he was young. Since several other persons had alluded to the fact that people were better at language learning because of previous experience, I had begun to feel that the learners saw previous experience with a language as a plus in *all* situations. The following is an excerpt from the field notes showing what happened as I was checking this conclusion:

> SE07 asked me what I was doing there. I told him that I was going to UCLA but that I was at the MTC doing a study on what the MTC experience was like. I told him that his wife had told me that he had learned Spanish by speaking with his friends when he was young. He said that he had wanted to learn it so he was talking to a friend at the mine where he worked. He said that he made a mistake and that his friend laughed at him and that he didn't try much after that because he didn't want to be laughed at. He said that he had said, "la gato" and his friend had laughed and said that he said "the she-cat" (Observation 10, p. 2).

This incident did not show my conclusion to be wrong, but it did show the need for refinement. The learners recognized both good and bad influence from previous experience. At another time I was able to check the influence of one particular aspect of the MTC program (the "Speak Your Language" program) by incorporating into my notes a sheet containing the students' own assessments of how well they were using the program.

It could be seen, then, from this study that some of the claims for the two naturalistic methods were upheld and some needed to be modified. However, this study also made it possible to suggest other strengths and weaknesses which language research methodologists had not emphasized but which might be important in the making of wise research decisions. The first difference of great importance has to do with the ease of gathering the data. Participant observation has the disadvantage of requiring more researcher time in the gathering of the data. This is true even if the researcher is a full participant. Participant observation calls for a complete overview of the situation, so time must be spent outside the class and in different places and different times observing and making notes. Both participant observation and diary studies require considerable time writing up the data and analyzing them, but participant observation takes more time in gathering the data.

On the other hand, participant observation has the advantage in the certainty of getting the data. This advantage is true, however, only when the researcher is not the sole diarist. It is not possible (nor, I think, desirable) to force learners to keep diaries. Because of this, it is possible to lose some or all of your data. In my own research situation, for example, I had to replace my original group of young subjects because an insufficient number of them turned in journals. As a researcher, you are more certain of actually having data to work with when you use participant observation.

Finally, diary studies have an advantage in that the data in them are more easily quantified. A process called content analysis, for example, can be used more easily with the journals and can even make use of the computer to provide interesting and enlightening quantified data. In my study, for instance, I was able to get a score for the number of times each learner mentioned a particular subject and, thus, to get a picture of the overall focus and attitudes of the learners.

In summary, then, this comparative study suggests that researchers may want to choose between doing a diary study and doing a participant observation on the basis of the following factors:

1. The need to focus on personal individual learner variables or on the influence of the society. A diary study is better for personal variables

although participant observation can also reveal them if a lot of interviewing is used. A participant observation is better for societal variables although a diary study can also reveal them if diaries come from several learners.

2. The desire not to change the learning situation. A participant observation changes the situation quite a bit unless the observer is a full participant. A diary study can change the situation although it is probably the most natural of all possible research choices (in a literate society).
3. The desire to let the research have immediate use for learners. A diary study allows for self-evaluation, improvement, and growth and a diary study can provide orientation for other learners.
4. The desire to validate findings with persons actually in the situation. A participant observation allows for a lot of double checking of findings.
5. The personal time available to the researcher. A participant observation requires considerably more.
6. The need to be sure of getting the data. Participant observation provides more security.
7. The desire to have or present quantifiable data. A diary study is generally easier than a participant observation.

There may be many other differences, but these are the ones which became most noticeable in this comparative study. If researchers can keep these differences in mind, they should be able to tell which (if either) of these two naturalistic methods would be best to use as their window on the language learning classroom.

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Appendix A
INSTRUCTIONS FOR JOURNALS

This journal has two purposes. The first is to help you with your language learning. As you write about what you think and feel as a language learner, you will understand yourself and your experience better.

The second purpose is to increase the overall knowledge about language learning so that learning can be increased. You will be asked to leave your language learning journal when you leave the MTC. However, your journal will not be read by teachers at the MTC. It will be read by researchers interested in language learning.

Your identity and the identity of others you may write about will be unknown (unless you wish it otherwise) to anyone except the researchers.

You will be given 15 minutes a day to write. Please write as if this were your personal journal about your language learning experience.

PART III

NEW METHODS AND PHILOSOPHIES: PROMISES AND LIMITATIONS

INTRODUCTION

As educators, those of us in TESOL seem to be constantly searching for new, innovative methods and philosophies to aid us in the instruction of non- or limited-English speakers. It is a worthwhile search because if it is successful; both students and teachers benefit—students by learning more material and teachers by feeling a greater sense of accomplishment. However, it should also be a cautious search. For if the approach is incompatable with the existing educational conditions, we may be creating disasterous learning situations—the very thing that we tried to overcome when we first embarked on the quest. In this section, the papers chosen represent the two sides of the search for methodological innovation, the promises and the limitations. As such, they also are examples of the many papers presented at TESOL '84 that dealt with methodological issues.

We begin with John Oller's plenary address which discusses why certain newer methods seem to produce success in the classroom. According to Oller, the success factor in methods that work is their use of "pragmatic mapping." What this means is that all of them pay serious attention to the world of experience, correspond more or less accurately to the real world and present ideas in an orderly fashion. Oller also argues that modern communicative approaches can be improved through the use of episodic organization of both logical structure and motivation.

Alan Maley, in his plenary presentation, takes a more cautious view of newer methodologies and approaches in second language teaching. By focusing specifically on the People's Republic of China, he discusses the problems of implementing any kind of communicative teaching in traditional teaching contexts. After reviewing the basic principles of a communicative approach and the characteristics of Chinese teachers and students, Maley discusses ways of incorporating communicative approaches into a traditional teaching situation without causing a total upheavel in either. Maley concludes by reminding us that we often can reconcile things that may appear irreconcilable.

Mary Lee Field also explores how newer approaches can often conflict with traditional teaching practices. Using a psycholinguistic model of reading, Field points out how Chinese students are often handicapped on the intermediate EFL reading level because of traditional reading methods. She advocates that EFL reading instructors must teach students to become more aware of syntactic cues and instructors must teach them how to deduce meaning from context instead of resorting to a dictionary for lexical information.

Richard Young and Sue Lee believe that the crucial variable in EFL curriculum innovation is the attitudes of classroom teachers. Without change in teachers' attitudes, there is very little hope that any curriculum change will occur and that it is unlikely that communicative approaches will ever find their way into the EFL classroom. Furthermore, since teachers' attitudes are a product of wider attitudes and value in a particular culture, they are often most resistent to any sort of change.

While the previous articles are future oriented and discuss the possibility of change, P.B. Nayar provides us with an historical analysis of attempted curriculum change. Nayar relates the attempt to implement a functional-notional approach in Papua-New Guinea. He sketches the rationales for the development of the approach, the educational environment in which it was to be implemented as well as analyzing the English language abilities and attitudes of students and teachers. What emerges is a case study focusing on the failure of curriculum innovation, but even failure can hopefully provide us with valuable lessons for the future.

This section concludes on an optimistic note. Thomas J. Garza presents an overview of second language techniques currently being employed at Moscow State University. Working from methods originally proposed by Georgi Lozenov, Garza describes the approach that is labelled "The Intensive Method." He discusses its accomplishments and raises issues on its applicability in Western classrooms.

A PREVIEW OF *METHODS THAT WORK* *

John W. Oller, Jr.
University of New Mexico

Ever since I attended my first TESOL convention fourteen years ago, the annual TESOL meeting has been a highlight of each year. Even in years when I wasn't able to attend the meeting, I looked forward to it. I was like an Egyptian English teacher I met in Cairo who told me in his heavy Arabic accent, "I am looking forward to visiting your country."

I said, "Wonderful! When are you coming?"

In carefully chosen words he replied, "Oh, I will never be able to come. It is too expensive for me, but still I am looking forward to visiting your country."

I'm like that about the TESOL meeting. I still can't afford it, but even in years when prudence overrules my enthusiasm, I look forward to coming and to seeing friends and hearing inspiring talks like the one by Mary Finocchiaro and the ones by the other plenary speakers—not to mention the many concurrent sessions. This year was different thanks to Penny Larson and the other organizers; prudence and enthusiasm were not totally contradictory motives.

In thinking about this talk, I tried to pick a topic that would appeal to you deep down as teachers. Some who are battle-weary may say that I have overreached myself in the choice that I have made, but Browning said that "the reach should exceed the grasp or what's a heaven for" and I have always considered that to be good advice for us teachers so I am going to go ahead in any case to talk about *Methods that Work*. Actually, it's not a topic that I came to suddenly,

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*Although the book was officially published in 1983, it did not in fact get to the bookstores until after the Houston TESOL Convention in March 1984. Therefore, this paper actually did *preview* the book. The text that follows is a slightly abbreviated and edited version of the actual talk presented at the TESOL Convention. I want to thank my co-author and co-editor of the book being previewed, Dr. Patricia Richard-Amato. She in particular called my attention to the quote from L. Jones below and played an important role in all the rest as well. I also want to thank Professor Kun-ok Kim from Seoul, Korea for supplying and checking the Korean utterances in this paper. Of course, I alone must bear responsibility for the present form of the paper.

and it's more than just a coincidence that Pat Richard-Amato and I have co-edited and co-authored a book by that title.

However, the book isn't just titled, *Methods that Work:* we added the phrase, *A Smorgasbord of Ideas for Language Teachers*. The key word is "smorgasbord." You can pick and choose from the various selections and create your own banquet. Also, you can leave out those items that, for whatever reason, don't appeal to you. I hasten to add that *if* it's a good book, it's because of teachers who have contributed years of work in order to build a solid foundation in classroom experience for each of the thirty-odd contributions.

Today I can only offer the barest sampling of some of the main dishes in the smorgasbord. Using several methods as reference points, however, I want to try to say why it is that some methods work. For most of us, excluding those who may see theory as an end in itself, failure is a topic of low interest. No doubt this is part of the reason that Krashen (1982) astutely observed in his book on *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition* that many teachers have lost confidence in theory. Perhaps this is because theoreticians are too often preoccupied with failure – problems, difficulties, etc. – rather than with success, which they often seem to think is at best unexplainable and at worst unattainable. On the other hand, the question of why some methods work is fundamentally a theoretical question. A very practical one, but a theoretical question nonetheless. Another way of putting it is to ask: What's different about methods that work?

When I was preparing this talk, I found myself trying to heap everything from the whole smorgasbord onto one plate. The trouble was that after twenty pages I hadn't even gotten started. So I have determined to give just a whiff of a few dishes. Some of these will be as familiar to most TESOLers as fried chicken and potato salad, but a couple are more exotic concoctions. By now everyone is familiar with J.J. Asher's ***total physical response***, Caleb Gattegno's ***silent way***, and most everyone will also know a good deal about the Terrell-Krashen method also known as ***the natural approach***. Less familiar, I suppose will be a rag-bag of ideas about ***dramatization***, and finally, ***a pragmatic curriculum***.

At the outset, I can think of two valid objections to my choices. First, they don't always work, and second, someone may say, "I just don't like them." I want to answer these objections before going on. It's true that the methods to be examined do not work equally well for all teachers nor for all students, and in some cases, they fail miserably. This objection is a valid one, but inapplicable to those cases where the methods in question do generate success. Keep in mind that we are not trying to say why many methods fail, but why some succeed. Moreover, I think we can agree fairly well on what success is. It's getting our students to the point where they can communicate in the target language. At the same time I think we have a fair notion of what failure is. It is something less even though the two may differ by degrees rather than categorically.

The second objection, I think, is equally valid. Some teachers will say, "But that's just not my style." I take this to be a reasonable basis for rejecting any approach to teaching. We teachers need to have the freedom to express our own individuality and to use what works for us. However, the point of discussing the five choices I am going to talk about is not to force anyone into a mold, nor to violate the preferences of any individual teacher. On the contrary, the ultimate respect is paid to such preferences by appreciating them for what they are. At the same time, this will encourage us to examine options which have worked for some teachers. Although I acknowledge that the few considered here constitute only a small portion of the full range open to all of us, still I think most will agree that the five families of methods I have chosen to examine are worth looking at.

Asher's *Total Physical Response*

Asher's *total physical response* is based on a simple concept. To illustrate the method, let us just do a short lesson in Korean.

(1) [sʰɔsʰipsʰiyo].

(At this point, I indicated by gesture that everyone should stand up and mildly threatened in Krashen style, "I see some of you still sitting down. [sʰɔsʰipsʰiyo] or it's pushups on the fingertips.")

(2) [torassʰɔsʰipsʰiyo].

(I turned around.)

(3) [anjɨsʰipsʰiyo].

(I gestured for people to sit down.)

As students progress in the language, more complex commands can be introduced, and the transition to declaratives, questions, negations, and indeed to longer stretches of discourse can be made without great difficulty.

One of the criticisms that has often been advanced is that Asher's approach is not a total curriculum. It lacks the sort of integration that some of us would like to see. A modified version, which I like, was suggested by Kalivoda, Morain, and Elkins (1971). They advocated using connected sequences of commands instead of disjointed and unrelated sentences. Instead of a sequence such as, "When Maria begins to dance with Juan, Pilar will run to them and hit Juan with her newspaper" (Asher 1979), they recommend a connected sequence of commands such as:

> Open the drawer; take out a knife; place the onion on the table; chop the onion; your eyes are watering; wipe them; add the onion to the stew; pick up the spoon; stir the stew; take a spoonful; blow on it;, taste it; it's good; smack your lips (Oller and Richard-Amato 1983: 338-339).

Kalivoda et al., who have used this approach extensively in three languages claim that it enhances comprehension and enriches the vocabulary and structural diversity acquired by their students.

If I understood him correctly, Asher argued early on that his method worked *because* of the physical activity which accompanied utterances in the target language (see Asher, Kusudo, and de la Torre 1974). From the beginning he advocated a "silent period" during which students would listen, comprehend, demonstrate comprehension through action, but not speak the language. More recently, Asher continues to emphasize the importance of physical activity as a catalyst in the whole approach, but, if I understand his most recent writings, he has adopted a more Krashenian posture – that is, he advocates a *comprehension model* which stresses the linkage of target language utterances with actions carried out by the students.

Gattegno's *Silent Way*

There has been a good deal written about Gattegno's *Silent Way* and I will not try to give a complete synopsis here. Rather, I will emphasize the aspects of Gattegno's method that I think are most critical to its success in many practical applications. In many ways, the early phases of the approach resemble the TPR approach except for two aspects: where Asher uses commands, Gattegno starts out with declarative statements, and where Asher uses actions to demonstrate meanings, Gattegno relies on realia, in particular a set of colored cuisinaire rods. He starts off with simple naming. He selects a rod from the collection and says, a rod, or the equivalent in the target language: In Korean, for instance, we would say:

> [makt^{+}eki] (where the raised + indicates a fortis consonant; at this point I held up a red rod, then repeated the Korean utterance holding up a yellow one).

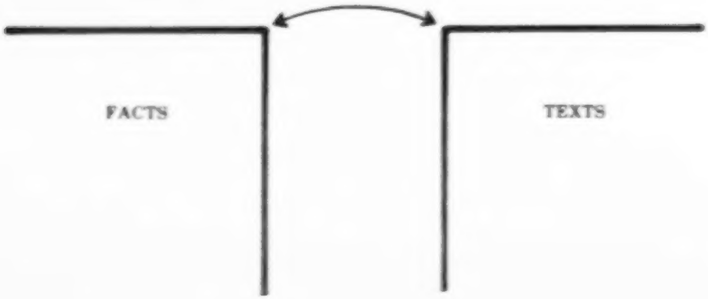
The problem is both to comprehend the meaning and to begin immediately to reproduce a recognizable facsimile of the target utterance. This is a formidable task, and Gattegno turns up the heat by being silent. While Asher recommends a "silent period" where the student is not expected to say anything until ready, Gattegno applies pressure through silence and thus communicates at least to some of the students a responsibility to begin immediately to break into the system of the target language with both verbal feet. Gattegno's next step is to elaborate on the utterance form:

> [makt^{+}eki]
> [noranmakt^{+}eki] (holding up the yellow one)
> [p^{+}alganmakt^{+}eki] (holding up the red one).

Gattegno's approach is subject to the criticism that it lacks an elaborated and fully integrated curriculum, but at the hands of skilled instructors, no one can deny that it produces some remarkable gains in language proficiency. Also, early in the recommended approach (see Gattegno 1972), Gattegno does many of the same sorts of things with commands that Asher recommends. It works very often, and Gattegno attributes this success to the teacher's silence. That is why he calls it the ***Silent*** Way.

At this point I would like to add that I think there is another explanation for the success of both these methods. While I respect the explanations offered by Dr. Asher and Professor Gattegno, I believe these methods both work because they make obvious to the student in the classroom the pragmatic correspondence between utterances in the target language and facts in the world of experience. This pragmatic connection or mapping relationship can be depicted as shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
Pragmatic Mapping



Making this inferential linkage apparent to the language student is, I believe, the sine qua non of successful language teaching, the essential requirement. Actually I do not know that either Asher or Gattegno would accept this idea, but I must say that I think physical activity is incidental to TPR and that silence is incidental to the Silent Way.

But just what exactly is pragmatic mapping?

In the case of the three commands [sʰɔsʰɪpsʰɪyo]; [torassʰɔsʰɪpsʰɪyo]; [anjɨsʰɪpsʰɪyo] from the Asher lesson in Korean, and the three statements from the Gattegno lesson [makt⁺eki]; [noranmakt⁺eki]; [p⁺alganmakt⁺eki], the pragmatic mapping problem is for the students to determine what each command requires them to do, and for each statement what it means in reference to the artificial context defined by the different configurations of the rods. For instance, the student needs to discover eventually that [sʰɪpsʰɪyo] marks the verb in each case as a polite command. Further, the students will eventually refine their understanding so that they recognize [sʰɔ] as the element designating the standing action, [torasʰɔ] as meaning turn around and remain standing, and [anjɨ] meaning sit down. With respect to the Gattegno lesson, the students need to see that either one of these things (at this point, I held up the red and yellow rods) can be designated as [makt⁺eki]; and that [noran] (holding up the yellow one) is an adjectival roughly translatable as yellow and that [p⁺algan] (holding up the red one again) is an adjectival roughly translatable as red.

I can be more explicit about what pragmatic mapping is by exemplifying the process in respect to more subtle aspects of the acquisition of English as a first language. Consider the distinction between velar and alveolar points of articulation in English. This is not a contrast we ordinarily think of as having great pragmatic consequences. But the problem of relating such a subtle contrast in surface-form to the facts of experience may be a formidable one for a language acquirer. An anecdote will illustrate what I mean.

About a year ago, Mary Anne (my wife), Stephen (our son, then three years and two months), and I had been at the malls on a shopping errand – specifically to buy a coat. The next weekend (about mid-March 1983) I was to leave for Wisconsin and needed an overcoat. Before hitting the malls we had gone to McDonalds to get a quick bite to eat. Stephen was seated in the back. When there was a suitable lull in the conversation he said, "I want my [kʰo?]."

Since it was a blustery evening, he already had his coat on and before I had buckled him in the back seat, I had very pointedly zipped it up. I said, "You have your coat on." This error was partly due to the fact that I had coats on the brain from the two hours of searching before finding one in the malls.

Exasperated he repeated his request. "No! Daggy, I want my [kʰo?]!"

On the second try his mother understood and handed him the root beer that was beyond his reach between the two bucket seats in front. (It didn't phase him that the thing had been sitting there for two hours while we were in the malls.)

At this point, I saw the opportunity to make a linguistics lesson out of the whole affair and seizing the opportunity, I said, "Oh. You mean you want your [kʰokʰʰʰʰ]."

"Yeah, Daggy, (kʰokʰʰʰʰ]," he repeated perfectly.

Until that time he had called me "Daggy" presumably on analogy with "doggie" which was one of his first words.

A few days later, I was telling the story to Jack Damico and discussing the implications for Krashen's monitor theory while Stephen was eating his peanut butter and crackers in the adjoining room. Stevie overheard the conversation with Jack and supplied the punch line at just the right juncture: "Yeah, Daggy, [kʰokʰʰʰʰ]!" This proved that he remembered the whole affair. Still later, after I returned from the trip to Wisconsin, Stephen greeted me on the way to the kitchen one morning with the remark, "I call you 'Daggy', huh, . . . but that's not real name, huh."

My curiosity was aroused. Having discussed with him a few days before the fact that although I called his mother Mary Anne, he should call her "Mommy." Then we had gone through all the names in the family. So I asked him. "Okay, Son, what's my real name?"

I expected him to say, "Your real name's 'John'."

Instead he said, "Your real name's 'Daddy'."

Apparently the incident with the "coat/coke" (alveolar/velar) contrast had precipitated a distinction between "Daggy/Daddy." In other words, the consciously motivated distinction in these phonemic features had generalized.

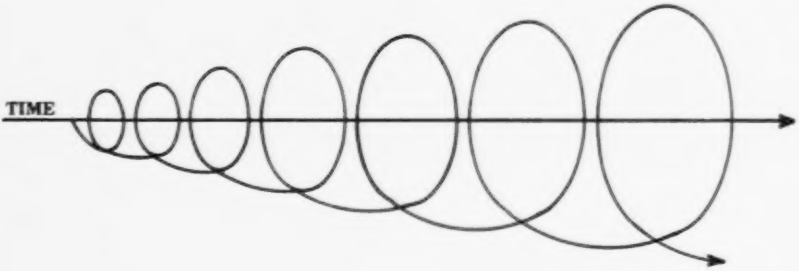
This anedote helps to explain what I mean by the process of pragmatic mapping. If viewed in the short term, it is the problem of comprehension, or of making one's self understood. If viewed over the long run, it is the problem of acquisition, refining one's proficiency and therefore one's communicative competence in the target language. The process, it would seem, is a delicate and a highly articulate one. Moreover, I am suggesting that the principal problem for language teachers is to find ways of facilitating this operation in the classroom.

Krashen and Terrell's *The Natural Approach*

Another method that Pat Richard-Amato and I included in our smorgasbord is the natural approach as advocated by Krashen and Terrell (1983; and Terrell 1982). Drawing heavily on a number of other sources but especially the work of Gattegno and Asher, Terrell and Krashen begin with comprehensible input in the target language and build upon the limited comprehension attainable at the start always spiraling outward to a broader comprehension. They are always first and foremost engaged in making the pragmatic mapping of utterances to facts accessible to their students.

Their intention is to engage students in the enterprise of negotiating meanings in the target language from the first meeting onward and to build on the initial comprehension progressing toward native-like proficiency in the language. The idea is not really very different from that of Asher and Gattegno and may be represented as shown in Figure 2. In the figure, the area enclosed by the growing spiral may be construed as the growing proficiency in the target language while the left to right dimension represents the time over which this progress occurs. In this much, the three approaches examined have similar aims.

FIGURE 2
Growth in Comprehension and Proficiency



However, where Asher uses commands plus actions, and Gattegno uses statements about sticks (and later commands as well), Terrell and Krashen use statements, questions, negations, commands, and whatever contextual resources they can muster in a classroom context to support comprehension of these. They respect the desirability of an Asher-type "silent period" for some students and they reject the notion that overt correction of surface errors is helpful. They contend, and I tend to agree with them, that the focus of attention should be on meaning and truth-value more than on surface form. If a student says of Jane, "She girl with red hair," and in fact Jane does have red hair, the omission of the copula and of the definite article might be overlooked since the statement is factually correct. However, if a student says, "Jane is the girl with blond hair," where the surface form is fine but Jane's hair is red, this remark needs correction.

They also emphasize vocabulary expansion as the means to achieving syntactic maturity. Their argument is that if the words are available to express ideas, students will successfully discover the appropriate syntactic arrangements, while knowledge of syntactic patterns without lexical flesh and blood is like an embryo consisting only of a skeleton—a useless bag of bones.

Krashen and Terrell contend that the natural approach works because it simulates, to some extent, the normal contexts of language acquisition. John Macnamara (1973) and Leonard Newmark (1966) had advocated doing this in language classrooms up to two decades ago. Of course, many would say that all of these authors are merely echoing what good language teachers have proved in centuries of experience, and as Terrell (1982) and others have frequently noted (among them, Alan Maley in his plenary at this conference – Solomon even wrote about it in the book of Ecclesiastes) there just aren't any new approaches under the sun. Still, I feel as Mari Wesche put it sometime ago in a letter, the natural approach is "a breath of fresh air" to language teachers – perhaps because of our feeling that it confirms what we already knew.

Dramatization

A fourth approach, dramatization comes in several varieties. For instance, there is the *Rassias madness* advocated by disciples of a beloved lunatic at Dartmouth by the same name (see Wolkomir 1980; Johnston 1980; and Rassias 1970); *sociodrama*, as expounded for instance by Robin Scarcella (1978), or just *drama* as discussed by Susan Stern (1980); *scenarios and roles*, in the terms of Robert J. di Pietro (1981, 1982); and *role play* by Raymond Rodrigues and Robert White (1982). As proponents of dramatization we all share the belief that comprehension is critical to language acquisition and that acting out scenes, playing roles, inventing lines for a scenario, or even just rehearsing them may facilitate language acquisition. There is a lot of evidence to support these claims, and no longer can the critics beg off for lack of evidence.

The spirit of dramatic encounters is perhaps best expressed by John Rassias (1970) who mingles his verve for acting with some traditional audiolingualism to achieve some surprising success as a one man acting troop in the classroom. Of course, he has not always been sold on language teaching or teachers. He reports that once as a French student, a teacher depressed his tongue with a pencil to get him to say the French uvular "r". He said in an interview, "I couldn't help myself. I bit her." Discouraged by traditional language classrooms which he described as "valium valleys," he gave up language and went into acting. Later he returned to the classroom and brought his acting skills with him. Clearly, Rassias's approach to acting is not every teacher's, but the many uses of role-play and drama in the classroom reach far beyond the limits of the Rassias-type teacher-as-player.

Research has shown that students can be players too and that they benefit from practiced roles where the lines are written by someone else, and that they benefit even more in some cases by improvisations in scripts where some problem is posed and the student(s) must negotiate a solution. For instance, Di Pietro (1981 and 1982) suggests problems, presumably applicable for advanced students: (1) "Explain to your spouse how you had an accident with the new car," (2) "Apologize for not showing up for a date," (3) "Make up after an argument with your boy/girl friend," etc. (1983: 232).

However, one of the most developed approaches to dramatization that I have seen comes from Rodrigues and White (1982). They propose advance preparation for real-life scenarios. For instance, in getting ready for an actual trip to a grocery store they work through vocabulary, syntactic forms, and meanings in advance with their students through role-play. After a certain amount of ground breaking activity, they actually take the students to a grocery store where they use some of their newly acquired skills in a real-life context. Afterward, the teacher may have a debriefing session back in the classroom where skills and knowledge are further refined. Again the model of spiraling growth of proficiency in the target language (Figure 2) seems appropriate.

A Pragmatic Curriculum

All of these methods, and in fact, I believe all other methods that really work may be construed as variants of elements within a pragmatic curriculum and I want to elaborate some more on this last idea as an integrated approach bringing together and making sense of many distinct "methods" of language instruction. As I said at the outset, this is a theoretical question, and I want to talk a little more about pragmatic theory before reaching a conclusion about why some methods work.

Pragmatics, as many of you know, is a branch of semiotics – the theory of signs, or the theory of symbolic systems. A few years ago when I had the audacity to use the term in a title for a talk in Vancouver, at breakfast I overheard some convention-goers talking through their programs. One of them said to a couple of others, "Good grief! What are they gonna think of next! What do you suppose 'pragmatics' means?"

"You got me," one of them answered.

"I don't know," said the third.

I breathed a piece of link sausage, gagged and sputtered and tried to hide behind my lecture notes, so they wouldn't recognize me later.

As a working idea, for language teachers the term "pragmatics" is only slightly more familiar these days than it was when I addressed a group of TESOLers on the subject in San Francisco at the invitation of John Upshur two sabbaticals ago (see Oller 1970). In more recent years the term has been used with many meanings and for most language teachers it still needs defining. It is derived from a Greek base which is related to our word "practical" in English. The same root formed the basis for the term "pragmatism" which is perhaps the only widely known and distinctly American brand of philosophy. In many ways that philosophy has also inspired the study of pragmatics – this is especially true in the many writings of C.S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey.

Pragmatics in modern linguistic studies also goes by a variety of definitions, but I think it is ***the domain of language study, or of grammar, which is concerned with the relation between texts (including conversational and other manifestations of language) and facts*** – what I described earlier as the pragmatic mapping relation. In sum, I see the pragmatic hypothesis as a particular brand of the innatist hypothesis advocated by Chomsky.[1] The basic elements of the theory can be depicted as shown in Figure 3.

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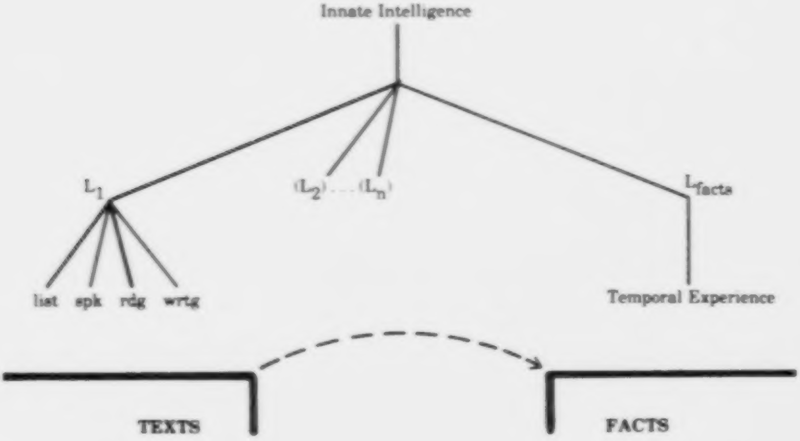
[1] Chomsky's claim is that a great deal of prior knowledge about the form of possible grammars of natural languages is possessed by all human infants before they start to acquire any particular language. For elaboration of this point, see especially the discussions in Piatelli-Palmarini (1980) and also in Lightfoot (1982) with a foreword by Chomsky.

FIGURE 3
Pragmatic Theory Barely Elaborated



At the deepest level (at the top of the diagram), I posit a general form of intelligence which ultimately makes possible the acquisition of the grammatical system of one or more natural languages, e.g., English, or Navajo, or Korean, etc. At the most superficial levels, one or more of these grammars may find representation in spoken, heard, written, and read forms – the surface manifestations of language. In addition, the same deep intelligence enables us to make sense of the facts of experience in general. That is, in some manner or other it allows us to understand what is going on around us through some sort of general logic of experience. In the diagram I call this logic simply L_{facts} to indicate that it is a logic (or language) of facts – a grammar which captures the propositional form of facts. Through the process of pragmatic mapping, this general logic of facts is linked up to the surface-forms of texts in a particular language via the universal and particular aspects of the grammar of the language in question. The idea is that human intelligence, through the medium of a known language, is able (somehow) to bridge the gap between the world of experience and the texts of that language. No less a scholar than Einstein (1956) – and others such as Immanuel Kant (1783) and C. S. Peirce (1877) – stressed the miraculous character of this bridging.

The basic premise of a pragmatic curriculum is the claim that the connection between texts and the facts of experience is the foundation both of comprehension and also of language acquisition in general and all of its concomitant skills including listening, speaking, reading, and writing. If we think of the immediate problem of comprehension on any particular occasion, the principal problem is to link up elements of the text with elements of experience – that is, pragmatic mapping. It involves such things as determining the referents of noun-phrases, pinning down verb phrases with respect to particular events at particular points in time, distinguishing hypothetical statements from assertions, true statements from false ones, and in general, determining the experiential significance (or as William James called it, "the cash value") of all of the elements of the text. If this process is translated into the long term problem of making sense of texts in general, the process of linking texts to facts becomes the essence of language acquisition.

Therefore, if pragmatic theory is taken seriously, a language curriculum is one in which the world of experience (that is, the world of facts, the real world) is taken seriously. One of the things that has been learned from the traditional methods of language teaching that tend toward failure is that bathing students in utterances (or in texts) of the target language doesn't get us very far. If we take only the texts into account, and if we neglect their relation to the facts of experience, we inevitably run into serious trouble. On the other hand, success in language teaching depends on establishing in the mind of the student, largely at a subconscious level, the relationship between texts and facts. Krashen's emphasis on the need for comprehensible input – the so-called "input hypothesis" – is a natural consequence of pragmatic theory in just this sense. Also, such a theory can explain in a very straightforward manner the success of Asher's ***total physical response approach***, Gattegno's ***silent way***, the Terrell-Krashen ***natural approach***, and the various approaches to ***dramatization***. It can also explain the failure of approaches which leave the student in the dark indefinitely on the pragmatic relation between texts and facts in the target language.

But a pragmatic theory offers more. If we take the world of experience seriously, and pragmatic theory says we must, it becomes immediately apparent that the facts of experience do not appear randomly in the stream of consciousness. They ordinarily have at least two properties: first they ***are generally veridical;*** they correspond more or less faithfully to the real world – and second, they ***appear in an orderly succession***.

Although some cultural anthropologists and skeptical philosphers have tried to argue that we all live in different universes, this idea is largely false. If it were not false, there would be no need bothering our heads about Russian bombs that are aimed at American cities, and the Russians would have no need of worrying about American missiles targeted on Russian cities. If we lived in different universes, there would be no problem. Also, the contrasts between the many cultures and the many belief-systems of the world would be unknowable if we all lived in different universes. On the contrary, cultural and other differences are important precisely ***because*** we live in the same real world, not in many different universes, but the same universe.

Also, contrary again to the well-meaning relativists – who have no association at all incidentally with Einstein (cf. his own collection of some of his writings copyrighted in 1956) who believed in the real world of real events, persons, relations, etc. – the succession of events in experience is not merely a function of a western European outlook. It is a necessary consequence of universal logic (as Kant showed two centuries ago) and of human physiology (as Lashley 1951 argued). Nor do illusions, misapprehensions, and breakdowns in perception create any insurmountable difficulties. In fact they are relatively easy to explain. It is the cases of correct understanding of facts in experience that present the greater difficulty to theories of knowledge and of language. That's why Einstein described this understanding as "a miracle." Or, as Immanuel Kant observed, the difficult thing for a theory of epistemology is that experience is "valid knowledge of appearances and of their succession" where "the earlier can be conjoined with the later according to the rule of hypothetical judgments" (1783: 59). Kant insisted, and in this I think he was right, that "the human understanding is discursive" (1783: 104). That is, Kant advocated the textuality hypothesis (see Oller 1983) – the idea that experience itself is textual in character.

This idea can best be demonstrated by examples where the understanding goes awry or leads us into false expectations. Looking back to Figure 3, I should stress that what we are concerned with for the moment is the factual side of the pragmatic mapping process: the facts in the real world and their connections with each other, causal, spatio-temporal, inferential, implicational, presuppositional, associational, and the like.

Intelligent behavior, especially the generation of text, respects the logic of experience and also the fact that intelligent action is intrinsically goal-oriented. When Stephen asked for his coke, he did so because he wanted to drink it. The motivation for asking was chiefly the fact that he could not reach it from the back seat where he was buckled in. That is, being buckled in implied (in a propositional way) the fact that he would not be able to reach the coke. That is, it conflicted in an obvious way with his goal of drinking the coke, thus motivating his request (i.e., the generation of an appropriate text). Further, he assumed (in a propositional way again) that Mom or Dad would be willing to hand him the coke. This association (another proposition) resulted in some further conflict when in fact I did not understand what he wanted. I thought he was asking for his coat, which he already had on; hence, a conflict for me, and my comment (i.e., text), "You have it on."

In all of this we can say that the experiencer is an agent (in the grammatical, propositional sense of this term), acting on the basis of a plan (a kind of long term predicate, or verb phrase), moving toward some desired objective (a goal or direct object in some non-trivial grammatical sense). Thinking gets going; communication becomes critical; and text generation is motivated at just the point where the conflict enters. The need for further communication ceases at the point where the conflict is suitably resolved, and/or the goal is achieved. That is to say, normal text is typically episodically organized in two fundamental senses. First, it is logically structured: it consists of propositions which are logically related to each other and to similar logical connections between facts in the world of experience. Second, it is motivated, usually by some sort of meaningful conflict. The conflict need not be sword-play or a gun-fight, but it will always involve some "doubt" as C.S. Peirce (1877) would have described it, some "trouble" or "predicament" in the terms of John Dewey (1916), or some "disequilibrium" as Piaget (1947) might have put it.

The fact that human intelligence depends in a large measure on the two aspects of episodic organization just defined can be illustrated best by examples where intelligence fouls up. Actually, if things run smoothly intelligence is usually quite invisible – the invisible logic of orderly experience (or the invisible God who created the visible universe, as Peirce, and others have argued). However, when things go wrong, intelligence is suddenly apparent, even in subtle aspects of its functions – e.g., as in the example of the "coat/coke" confusion, or the "Daggy/Daddy" case.

The logical aspect of episodic organization can be illustrated best by texts which violate that logic. For instance, my favorite example which shows quite graphically what happens when the ordinary logic of experience (L_{facts} in Figure 3) is radically violated comes from the nineteenth century humorist Samuel Foote. It seems that he had been attending a series of lectures by a certain pedagogue who claimed to have mastered the art of memory so thoroughly that he could repeat from rote any passage of prose up to 100 words in length after having read it only once. At the end of the talk, Foote presented the pompous lecturer with the following text and asked him to read it aloud to the audience and then demonstrate his superior memory skills:

> So she went into the garden to cut a cabbage leaf to make an apple pie: and at the same time a great she-bear coming up the street pops its head in the shop. "What! No soap!" So he died, and she very imprudently married the barber: and there were present the Picninnies, the Joblillies, and the Garcelies, and the Great Panjandrum himself, with the little round button at the top, and they all fell to playing the game of catch-as-catch-can till the gunpowder ran out the heels of their boots (Foote ca. 1854, as cited by Cooke 1902: 221f).

This text is a lot like Chomsky's example sentence, "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously." Of course, the text about the she-bear was written about three-quarters of a century before transformational linguistics. The pompous lecturer who had boasted of his memory skills was unable to repeat it after only one reading. Foote's demonstration showed clearly that memory depends in a large part on the logical structure of experience and that texts which fail to respect that logic are difficult to recall.

A secondary aspect of the usual episodic organization of texts is motivation. To the extent that a text has pragmatic point it is usually in reference to some basic conflict. That is, the text itself serves to reveal the resolution of the conflict, the re-balancing of some imbalance, the equilibration of some disequilibrium, the resolution of doubt in Peirce's terms, or the removal of trouble or difficulty in Dewey's terms. Otherwise, if there is no conflict, no doubt, no disequilibrium, the text itself will seem unmotivated.

Examples of unmotivated texts are fairly easy to find in ESL/EFL materials. For instance, from *English for Today* authored by a committee of the National Council of Teachers of English (1973), consider the episode involving Mr. and Mrs. Miller (p. 73). They are on their way to Hong Kong and just happen to run into the same stewardess they had met on an earlier flight. We don't know why they are going to Hong Kong, but the important thing is that Miss Yamada, the familiar stewardess, takes out her picture album and begins to show them photos of her friends and family. Miss Yamada says, "This is my best friend. Her name is Fumiko."

"She's very pretty," comments Mrs. Miller. "Is she older or younger than you?"

"She's one year younger."

"Aren't you thinner than she is?" Mrs. Miller probes.

"Yes, I am. Fumiko loves to eat."

Mr. Miller pats his tummy and puts in, "So do I. I hope it will be time for lunch soon" (NCTE 1973: 73).

Now here is the question: why wouldn't we be apt to write home about this episode? Can't you just see the letter?

Dear Mom,

Today we learned about Miss Yamada and the Millers. At Mrs. Miller's probing, Miss Yamada admitted that her best friend Fumiko is overweight. Mr. Miller, who also apparently overindulges, was glad it would be lunch time soon. Isn't that interesting?

Love,
mo
Mohammed

The reason that we probably would not write home about the Miller episode is that it lacks motivation. There is no conflict to motivate any of the questions or answers. It also lack logical structure. Why, for instance, does Mrs. Miller ask about the relative ages and weights of Miss Yamada and Fumiko? Is the photograph that bad, or is the contrast that noteworthy? Neither of these possibilities seems likely. Rather, we may suppose that Mrs. Miller is an English teacher of the old school who wants to check out Miss Yamada's understanding of comparative constructions – an esoteric motive at best.

Of course, the *English for Today* series is now more than a decade old, and it was a considerable improvement on the Lado-Fries type of drill material where totally disjointed sentences were common: "Is the alphabet important?" "Is the doctor available?" "Is the secretary busy?" "Is the television on?" and the like, and the Lado-Fries materials were in some ways superior to the word-for-word translation approaches common still earlier. All of these curricula have their merits, and someone may contend that we have come a long way since then. No one could dispute this. Substantial gains have been made.

One only has to compare this year's publishers exhibits to those of a decade ago to see evidence of progress. However, even in the decade of the 1980s, in materials which have benefited from the notional/functional revolution of recent years and the swing toward communicative approaches, we still find materials that lack episodic structure and motivation.

For instance, here are three examples from three sets of materials: First, from *Workbook 1* of the *In Touch* series (Castro, Kimbrough, and Zane 1983) published by Longman, we find the following exchanges between a young man and a young woman:

1. A: Where's room 310?
   B: It's ___on___ the third floor ___next to___ the elevator.
2. A: Excuse me, where's the telephone?
   B: It's ___on___ the second floor ___between___ the stairs and the elevator.
3. A: Is there a Ladies' Room on this floor?
   B: Uh-huh. It's ___across___ from the elevator.
4. A: Where can I find a drinking fountain?
   B: There's one ___next to___ the Men's Room.
5. A: Excuse me. Where's Room 202?
   B: It's ___on___ the second floor, ___next to___ the secretary's office (1983: 31).

Now, without looking back, where's the telephone?

Why is it so hard to remember this sort of thing? Precisely because the text itself lacks episodic organization. There was no reason for us to want to know where the telephone was, nor the Ladies' Room, nor Room 202, or even the drinking fountain. Stranger still is the fact that the woman asking for the Ladies' Room is pictured practically looking at the door marked "Ladies' Room." But in spite of all its weaknesses, this series of dialogues is superior in many respects to the sort of thing characteristic of the Lado-Fries era. The *In Touch* series offers ingenious illustrations for almost every utterance to help establish meaning—the pragmatic mapping relationship.

A second example comes from another attractive program, *Spectrum*, published by Regents (Warshawsky, Byrd, Veltfort, and Vaughn 1982). Here is a phone conversation from the first book:

Jim: Hello?
Sam: Hello, Jim? This is Sam.
Jim: Hi, Sam. How are you?
Sam: Okay. Listen, what are you doing?
Jim: Oh, watching TV. How about you?
Sam: I'm just reading the newspaper. Listen, do you want to see a movie in Chicago?
Jim: Chicago? It's too far away.

(We almost expect him to say, "What the heck, why not New York, or Singapore?")

Sam: Too far? It only takes 35 minutes by train.
Jim: I don't really like Chicago. Everything costs too much.
Sam: Then let's go to a movie around here.
Jim: Okay. That's a good idea (1982: 101).

Then, of course, they hang up.

A third example comes from another widely used communicatively oriented series known as *American Streamline* published by Oxford University Press (Hartley and Viney 1983). Here's a dialogue, or actually a series of them that appear early in the first book:

A: Hello.
B: Hello.
A: I'm David Clark.
B: I'm Linda Rivera.

(Now we cut to another pair of interlocutors)

C: Are you a teacher?
D: No, I'm not.

(D is being coy, apparently. If C had asked, "Do you know what time it is?" presumably D would have answered, "Yes, I do." But C is persistent and continues.)

C: Are you a student?

(Bingo! He hits the jackpot on the second try.)

D: Yes, I am.
(Cut to another pair.)
E: Are you from the United States?
F: No, I'm not.
E: Where are you from?
F: I'm from Canada.
(Cut to yet another pair.)
G: Hello, Kenji.
H: Hi, John. How are you?
G: Fine, thanks. And you?
H: Fine, thanks (1983: 3-4).

In spite of the fact that the characters seem uncooperative and perhaps a bit aimless, the colorful illustrations depict them as sophisticated modern people, and they are very attractive indeed. What would make the program even better would be to make an even more radical commitment to the logic of experience and the avoidance of textual sequences that lack motivation.

But where do such unmotivated texts come from? Why have these otherwise excellent series incorporated such strange sequences? Actually, one popular theory which may contribute to the development of such texts, is what is known as the notional/functional syllabus. For example, concerning the function of "asking for permission," L. Jones (1977) recommends:

> Sometimes we need to do more than just offer to do something – we may need to ask permission to make sure we are allowed to do it. The expression to use depends on: (a) the type of task you want to do and the degree of resistance you anticipate; (b) who you are and who you are talking to – the role you are playing and your status.
>
> Here are some useful ways of asking permission. They are graded in order of politeness:
>
> I'm going to leave early.
> I thought I might leave early.
> I'd like to leave early.
> All right if I leave early?
> Anyone mind if I leave early? . . . (1977: 223)

But imagine Clint Eastwood as Dirty Harry saying between clenched teeth, "Anyone mind if I leave early?" Actually, I do not think the so-called "grading" of these "useful ways of asking permission" would hold up under close scrutiny.

Then for practice Jones recommends:

> Make a list of five things you would like to do, but which would need your teacher's permission. Ask for permission to do them – but be warned, he may ask you why! Later he will change roles and play the role of the principal, so you may then need to change the way you ask (1977: 223).

Okay, we're mostly native speakers of English, let's give it a shot. Dr. Anthony (Edward Anthony of Pittsburgh, seated on the front row), go ahead. You start. Ask me permission. Be dramatic.

. . . .

Obviously something is wrong. Something critical is missing. Actually, what is missing is the requisite *episodic organization*. In fact there are two aspects of episodic organization that are missing: the first is *structure* (which may be construed as the cognitive basis). Where is the learner going to go? Why does he need my permission? On what basis could I possibly object to his going? What is his motivation for going there? What is my motivation for regulating his going there? These are some critical elements that are missing. Moreover, without them, the game seems rather pointless. This sort of classroom game cannot be construed as role playing because the roles are not well defined. It isn't dramatization because there is no story, play, or plot. In short, it isn't English. It's borderline nonsense. Pragmatic mapping isn't just difficult in such a situation; it is impossible until some of the missing elements are supplied. Of course they usually are in actual practice, but this is no help to the *theory* of the notional/functional syllabus.

A pragmatic curriculum differs from a notional-functional syllabus chiefly because in *pragmatic theory* we take the world of experience seriously. Because of this we do not ask students to either invent or imitate and then practice many different ways of apologizing, asking permission, etc. They may practice such acts, but only in contexts where the notions and functions in question arise in the natural course of events, the same as certain types of syntactic structures, lexical items, phonological contrasts, and so on arise naturally.

For example, consider the episode from the second lesson of *La Familia Fernández* (Oller, Sr. 1963; and also see Oller, Sr., and Oller, Jr. 1983) where Pepito wants to go with his older brother, Emilio, and Emilio's friend, Enrique:

> Pepito runs after them asking, "¿Adónde van? ¿Adónde van ustedes?" (Where are you going?)
>
> Annoyed, Emilio waves him off saying, "¡No te importa!" (It's none of your business.)
>
> Pepito begins to shout in the direction of the house, "¡Mamá! ¡Mamá! ¿Adónde van Emilio y Enrique?"
>
> "¡Cállate!" ¡Cállate.! Pepito," (Shut up! Shut up!) says Emilio and then he bends down to Pepito's level in a conciliatory manner and says, "Vamos a nadar." (We're going swimming.)
>
> Enrique too, willing to be helpful says, "Si, vamos a nadar."
>
> "¿Puedo ir? ¿Puedo ir con ustedes?" (Can I go? Can I go with you?) Pepito asks with eyebrows raised and a hopeful look.
>
> Emilio frowns. "No. No puedes." (No. No you can't).
>
> Pepito starts yelling again, "¡Mamá! ¡Mamá! ¿Puedo ir con Emilio y Enrique?"
>
> "Cállate, cállate," (Quiet down. Quiet down.) Emilio looks at Enrique who reluctantly nods. "Bueno, bueno. Puedes ir." (Okay, okay. You can go.)
>
> Pepito starts walking along with them and then suddenly, he pauses, wrinkles his nose and says, "No. No quiero ir. Voy a jugar con mi perro."

(Naw. I don't wanna go. I'm gonna play with my dog.) (Oller, Sr. 1963: 9 or Oller, Sr. and Oller, Jr. 1983: 30)

What's different here? Pepito is doing the very sort of thing that Jones (1977) was talking about with reference to the notional/functional approach: he is asking permission. Why is it that Pepito's request seems meaningful while the other exercise seems so empty? The difference is episodic organization. In Pepito's case, there is a reason for him to want to tag along and there is a reason for Emilio to want to prevent Pepito's going along. A meaningful (though minor) conflict ensues. Because of these facts, the text is both logical and motivated. On the other hand, both of these aspects are unfortunately missing when we are told simply to ask someone permission for something out of the blue. In fact, the whole world of experience is missing in the latter case. Or, putting it differently, the facts are missing, or at least undetermined. In ordinary communication this is not the case. The facts are usually fixed, or determined to a large extent. For this reason, I believe that there is literally ***a world of difference*** between the notional/functional syllabus (with all of its merits) and a pragmatic curriculum.

Summing up, pragmatic theory suggests that we should ***not*** ask students to invent and practice many different ways of apologizing, asking permission, refusing an offer, etc. In a pragmatic curriculum, they may perform these communicative acts, but only in meaningful contexts where the notions and functions in question arise in connection with the natural course of events. In the same way, certain types of syntactic structures, lexical items, phonological contrasts, and so forth arise naturally in the same contexts. The person who was the world's best-selling author at least until 1981, put it like this: he said, the elements of a story (or in fact any conversation, or text in the most general sense) should be "perfectly logical" (Erle Stanley Gardner as cited in Fugate and Fugate 1980: 79).

What Is Different about *Methods that Work?*

Finally we return to the basic question where we started out. *Methods that Work* (or "families of methods" would be more accurate) require students to link up utterances in the target language with facts which are in some sense present (that is fixed or established) – either actually in the case of the ***total physical response***, the ***silent way***, and the ***natural approach***, or at least they are imagined or portrayed in film or drama as in the various approaches to ***dramatization***, or in a ***pragmatic curriculum***. We may say that ***in all of the Methods that Work, the main objective is to establish the pragmatic linkage between facts and texts in the target language***. Pragmatic theory suggests further that this linkage will be easier to establish, that texts will be of greater benefit to our students, to the extent that they are ***episodically organized*** – logically structured and motivated by conflict.

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ON CHALK AND CHEESE, BABIES AND BATHWATER AND SQUARED CIRCLES: CAN TRADITIONAL AND COMMUNICATIVE APPROACHES BE RECONCILED?

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In recent years there has been much discussion about the difficulty of relating communicative theory to classroom methodology and materials. But relatively little attention has been paid to the practicability of implementing any kind of communicative teaching in traditional contexts.

It is all too easy for the aware, conference-going part of our profession to forget that at least 90% of the contexts for teaching ESL/EFL in the world are of a non-innovatory, traditional type. We are a tiny minority. The vast majority of teachers of English throughout the world are either ignorant of or unconcerned by the issues which so inflame us.

If we have a serious commitment to effecting change, however, we cannot afford to ignore this silent majority. Hence this paper, which will be no more than a tentative exploration, based upon my experiences in the People's Republic of China. It is therefore focused on one reality: the PRC. I leave it to readers to decide how generalizable this reality is to their own realities.

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Communicative

Communicative approaches are aimed at developing the *communicative* as opposed to the purely ***linguistic*** competence of learners. In this first section I shall try to explain the terms "communicative competence" and "communicative teaching," to explore what communicative teaching implies in terms of classroom activities, methods and materials, to compare it with approaches currently in use in China, and to examine the possible advantages and disadvantages of adopting such an approach.

What is communicative competence? There is now fairly broad agreement that communicative competence is made up of four major strands: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence (Canale and Swain 1980).

It is clear that what is meant by grammatical competence is the mastery of the language code. "Such competence focuses directly on the knowledge and skill required to understand and express accurately the literal meaning of utterances" (Canale 1983: 7). It is this type of competence which much classroom teaching seeks to promote.

Sociolinguistic competence involves the ability to produce and understand utterances which are ***appropriate*** in terms of the context in which they are uttered. This necessarily involves a sensitivity to factors such as stature, status, role, attitude, purpose, degree of formality, social convention and so on. Here are three instances of inappropriate though perfectly well-formed utterances:

> "Sit *down* please!" (Spoken to a distinguished guest – but with the intonation pattern reserved for commands.)
>
> "How old are you?" (Asked of a middle-aged foreign professor one is meeting for the first time.)
>
> "Why has your face gone red?" (Asked of someone who has just been embarrassed by an insensitive personal question.)

Many of the communication failures experienced by learners of a foreign language have their origin in a lack of sociolinguistic competence.

Discourse competence concerns the ability to combine meanings with unified and acceptable spoken or written texts in different genres. (Genre covers the type of text involved: narrative, argumentative, scientific report, newspaper article, news broadcast, casual conversation etc.) At first sight this might seem to be included under grammatical or sociolinguistic competence. But Widdowson's example should illustrate the difference:

Speaker A: What did the rain do?
Speaker B: The crops were destroyed by the rain (1978:2).

The reply is grammatically and sociolinguistically acceptable, but in discourse terms it simply "doesn't fit." ("It destroyed the crops" obviously would fit.) Failures in discourse competence have recently been interestingly and pertinently analyzed in the compositions of Chinese undergraduate students (Guo Jian Sheng 1983).

Strategic competence relates to the verbal and non-verbal strategies which learners may need to use either to compensate for breakdowns in communication or to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Under the former, one thinks of the use of hesitation fillers such as "um," "you know," etc. Paraphrase also plays a major role. (e.g. If one does not know the word for "book mark," it can be referred to as "the thing you put in a book to keep your place".) So also do catch-all words such as "thingummy," whatsitsname," etc. (Such features are extensively discussed in Faerch and Kasper 1983.) Given that few if any learners of a foreign language ever learn it perfectly, the importance of these "repair strategies" should be self-evident.

What are the characteristics of communicative approaches? Minimally they will have the following characteristics:

> Concentration on use and appropriateness rather than simply on language form (i.e. meaning as well as grammar).
>
> A tendency to favor fluency-focused rather than simply accuracy-focused activities (Maley 1982).
>
> An attention to communication tasks to be achieved *through* the language rather than simply exercises *on* the language.
>
> An emphasis on student initiative and interaction, rather than simply on teacher-centered direction.
>
> A sensitivity to learners' differences rather than a "lockstep" approach (in which all students proceed through the same materials at the same pace).
>
> An awareness of variation in language use rather than simply attention to the language (i.e. recognition that there is not *one* English but many Englishes).
>
> (Trudgill and Hannah 1982)

What are the implications for teaching? If the factors previously mentioned are to be implemented, there are certain inevitable consequences for the organization and management of the teaching/learning process:

> Teachers' roles will change. They can no longer be regarded as possessing sacrosanct knowledge, which they dispense in daily doses to their docile flock. Instead they will need to set up tasks and activities in which the learners play the major overt role. It is then their job to monitor these activities and to modify and adjust them as time goes by. This implies a much less spectacular, and at the same time much less secure, position.

The learners' roles will change correspondingly. They will no longer find it is enough to follow the lesson passively, but will need to involve themselves as real people in the activities they are asked to undertake both inside and outside the classroom. This gives them at one and the same time more freedom–and more responsibility.

The teaching materials will need to reflect the side range of uses of the language. Almost inevitably there will be a preponderance of authentic over simplified materials.

The techniques applied to those materials will be *task-oriented* rather than exercise-centered. It will be common to find students listening to or reading for information which they then discuss before formulating decisions or solutions in spoken or written form. In other words, the skills will be integrated rather than isolated. It will be rare to find students given a listening or reading text in isolation and asked to answer questions on it for no apparent reason.

The classroom procedures adopted will favor *inter*action among students. This will have implications for the layout of the class-room. (Straight rows of chairs and desks are good for order but bad for communication). There will be an emphasis on work in pairs and small groups. Much work may be founded on the exchange of information between groups. (For a full discussion of these implications see Candlin 1983.)

How does this model compare with current practice in China? Most teaching in China could be labelled "grammar-translation," "direct method" or "structuro-audio-lingual." For practical purposes it makes little difference what we call it. What characterizes all the above labels is that they:

Focus very strongly on the language as language (not as use). The so-called Intensive Reading class is a prime example of this, where the text is removed from its total context of meaning and examined as an object for analysis.

As a corollary, emphasize the memorization of vocabulary and the internalization of rules (many of which do not bear scrutiny!) at the expense of appropriateness and use.

Restrict the quantity and variety of language to which students are exposed.

Offer very few opportunities for real communication among students.

Rely very heavily on strong teacher control, and apportion a major part of the total talking time to the teacher.

Advantages and disadvantages of the communicative approaches

The main advantages of such approaches would seem to be that:

> They are more likely to produce the four kinds of competence previously outlined above than more purely language-centered approaches.
>
> They are more immediately relevant since they offer the learner the opportunity of *using* the language for his own purposes earlier than do other approaches.
>
> To this extent, they are more motivating, and students are likely to put more effort into them.
>
> They are less wasteful of time and effort than approaches which attempt to teach the *whole* language system, since they teach only what is relevant and necessary.
>
> In the long term, they equip the learners with the appropriate skills for tackling the language in the real world, since the approach is based on a close-approximation to such uses.

They do, however, have a number of potential disadvantages, namely that:

> They make greater demands upon the professional training and competence of the teachers. Teacher withdrawal is not the same thing as inactivity. In terms of preparation and sheer professional skill in knowing when and how to intervene productively, they demand very much more energy and adaptability from the teacher. The teacher also needs to be more confidently competent in the foreign language.
>
> They do not offer the teacher the security of *the* textbook. Whereas, with more traditional approaches, it is sufficient for the teacher to follow the prescription offered by the text-book, here it is necessary for him to select, adapt and invent the materials he uses.
>
> They may perplex students used to other approaches, at least in the initial stages.
>
> They are more difficult to evaluate than the other approaches referred to. Whereas it is relatively easy to test whether a student has "mastered" the present perfect, it is less easy to evaluate his competence in solving a problem, issuing an invitation, negotiating a successful agreement.
>
> Because they appear to go against traditional practice, they tend to meet with opposition, especially from older teachers and learners. (See below CHANGE).

Chinese Students: Chinese Teachers

Given that the purpose of this paper is to explore the feasibility of integrating communicative approaches in the China context, it is clearly necessary to look carefully at the characteristics both of Chinese students and teachers.

The most important factor in changes of any kind is the human factor. But it is precisely this factor which it is most difficult to affect. It is sensible, therefore, to examine both the existing strengths and weaknesses, in the hope of turning to good effect the former, and palliating the latter.

1. *Chinese Students:*

From the point of view of an outsider, Chinese students seem to enjoy the following considerable advantages:

> They are, in general, extremely highly motivated.
>
> They are both industrious to the point of excess, and punctilious in the execution of work requested from them.
>
> They have very good, well-trained memories.
>
> They are accustomed to organizing themselves in groups to work co-operatively for discussion or other purposes.
>
> They have a great capacity for working on their own (which is not the same as working independently!)

There are, however, some disadvantages, namely:

> They tend to demand very firm leadership from their teachers and to expect to be told exactly what to do at every step of the way.
>
> They are mesmerized by accuracy. This leads them to memorize rules which are of little or no use when engaging communicatively in the language. They commit to memory long lists of abstruse words and idioms, many of which they will never need to use, and most of which they would be incapable of using appropriately in any case.
>
> They are insecure in situations demanding fluency (which is presumably why they seek refuge in accuracy)
>
> (Wood 1982)

2. *Chinese Teachers:*

Again from an outsider's viewpoint, the major advantages would seem to be that Chinese teachers:

> Care about their students, and go to a great deal of trouble on their behalf, including individual coaching where the need arises.
>
> Are extremely conscientious in their preparation of lessons.
>
> Are usually intensely interested in the subject they teach and are constantly looking for ways of improving their performance.
>
> Are used to working co-operatively with colleagues in the preparation of classes, and to meeting regularly to discuss teaching problems.

On the negative side of the balance sheet there are the following disadvantages however:

> They are strongly oriented towards Accuracy teaching, with a heavy emphasis on grammar and vocabulary learning.
>
> They tend to be authoritarian in the classroom. That is, nothing happens in the classroom which is not initiated and controlled by the teacher.
>
> They are frequently insecure about their use of the language they are teaching. Paradoxically this often leads to extremely dogmatic views on language and the way it should be taught.
>
> It frequently also leads to a reluctance to share new ideas, books or techniques.
>
> It may also, in part, be responsible for a conservatism with regard to new approaches. However, this may also be due to the fact that, at the present time, there is little incentive to change. Routine is comforting, if dull. Change involves discomfort, though it may sometimes be exhilarating.

Why Change?

There are three good reasons, possibly more, why change is desirable. First, in historical terms, it happens anyway. Thomas Kuhn (1962), in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* postulates periods of great stability when a given discipline subscribes to a given orthodoxy in learning and practice. (This he calls a paradigm.) But inevitably there comes a time when unorthodox thinkers challenge the reigning paradigm, and establish another in its place. There is little doubt that such a paradigm change has been going on in TEFL over the past 10 years or so. Inevitably it will gain ground.

Second, without change, or at least the possibility of change, any discipline will languish. Procedures, methods, materials, which at their inception were useful and interesting, if repeated indefinitely without change, rapidly degenerate into sterile routines.

Third, the purposes for which people learn foreign languages change as external circumstances change. For many years in China, a purely linguistic, scholastic approach to foreign languages was justifiable on the grounds that few if any people actually needed to use these languages for real communication. In the process of opening to the outside world, a need for a functional command of English in the fields of industry, science and technology, commerce, tourism and so on has been created. Such a need cannot be satisfied without a corresponding change in the methodology of teaching foreign languages.

Many Chinese teachers, when they encounter communicative teaching ideas for the first time, express polite interest but object that such ideas would never work in China, and, in any case, why introduce them when the present system manifestly produces such good results. A full answer to this objection has been given elsewhere by Thomas Scovel (1983). The brief reply runs somewhat thus: with the highly competitive selective process operating in China, only a very small proportion of students even get to university. Those who do are the very best, and are so motivated and intelligent that almost any method would work. However, increasingly, there is a demand for larger numbers to be trained in foreign languages, and a proportion of these may be less highly gifted. Moreover, although the present system does produce good results, in that it succeeds in teaching a kind of English, the indications are that this may not be an appropriate kind for the needs of contemporary society. I would hold, therefore, that change is not only inevitable but also desirable.

Is It Feasible?

Allowing that change of some sort is inevitable, and that changes towards a more communicative approach are desirable, we are still left with the problem of feasibility. Can it be done? And if so, how?

I have suggested above that one avenue of approach is to turn to advantage the strengths already inherent in the present system. The following is an admittedly very tentative list of possible initiatory moves which might be incorporated into the present framework without bringing it down.

1. Utilize the traditional study scheme of "Yuxi, lianxi, fuxi" (preview, practice, review) but change the content of each stage.

At present what seems to happen is that students prepare (yuxi) each lesson, then go over it in class (lianxi) and then review it again (fuxi) later. I would contend that this leads to boredom. By the time the students get to the class, they have usually committed the lesson to memory anyway, so they simply have to undergo a repetition of what they already "know." They then go on to ram it in yet again as revision.

With minor adjustments, this could be modified into the three F's: Framing, Focusing and Follow-up. In the Framing stage, students would study, and if they felt like it, memorize the unit of material from the textbook. The Focusing stage would take place in the classroom. In this stage the focus would be on Fluency, that is, on using the material already studied. But this would not necessarily mean using exactly the same material. A parallel form would be of more value both for motivation and for generalizing purposes. The follow-up stage would involve students in some self-study work related to, but not the same as, the work done in class.

Let us take a simple example. In textbook X there is a unit/lesson on the expression of future time. It follows the familiar pattern, starting with dialogue carefully constructed to include examples of shall/will, going to, present continuous and present simple used for future time. This is followed by some substitution exercises, vocabulary lists and grammatical explanation. In the Framing stage (out of class) students would be asked to study this.

In the Focusing stage the teacher might decide to concentrate on one aspect of future expression, perhaps the future of intention (going to) or of previous arrangement (present continuous). Each student might be asked to write down on a sheet of paper ten things he intends to do in the next 24 hours, and ten things which have been arranged to happen during that period of time. Students then work with a partner asking questions designed to discover what the other person has written down. (The practice could be made more formal by imposing a fixed pattern, e.g. "I'm *going to* practice because *we're giving* a concert tonight" but this need not be done unless students are very uncertain of themselves.)

If there is time, students could do the following problem-solving activity. They divide into four or five teams. Each team is given, at random, an equal number of slips of paper. On some of them there are *going to* sentences, on others *-ing* sentences. (e.g. "I'm going to type the invitations." or "We're organizing a competion." Each team has to try and build up matching pairs of sentences by sending representatives to other groups to find out what they have and to exchange slips with them. This negotiation has to be done in English.

In the follow-up stage students are given an assignment to do in pairs. This might involve them in skimming through a number of magazine articles to find examples of the forms they have been studying (*going to* and *-ing* for future time). They have to write out all the sentences which contain their examples. From this they try to formulate a generalization about why each form is used when it is. If they cannot formulate a rule, they should still be able to write out questions which occurred to them while trying to do so.

2. Use traditional procedures but change the content or the manner. Here are two brief examples of ways in which this might be done:

(a) Given that students are accustomed to the memorization of vocabulary, organize work which enables them to continue doing so, but ensure that the content is useful–not simply abstruse, learned or esoteric. One way of doing this would be to set work on a semantic area using a thesaurus/lexicon rather than a dictionary (McArthur 1981). They might take a field of meaning like *taste*. Having checked on the items in the lexicon, they could be asked, in pairs, to construct sentences using the items appropriately. This could be followed up by an extract from a cookery book or a book about food where they would re-check the usage of the terms. An alternative way could be to take a word, for example *memory*, and ask each student to write down ten words associated with it. After comparing notes in groups, students could cross-check their results in the lexicon.

(b) Take the hoary procedure of intensive reading and give it a twist. Students in pairs could be given a passage to read out of class. No questions would be set. Instead, each pair would have to decide upon which points of grammar or vocabulary they would choose to highlight. They would then write out the questions or exercises associated with these points. In class, pairs would exchange their texts and questions with other pairs. They would then try to answer the questions. It is likely that at this stage a number of disagreements would arise about the clarity of the questions, the importance of the language points chosen and so on. These would then be discussed by the pairs concerned in groups of four. (A logical development from this is for groups of students to be assigned a topic which they prepare to teach the class.)

3. Use students to teach each other. This has been described in some detail elsewhere (Rodgers 1983). In the China context it would entail assigning each first year student to a third year *tutor* who would remain with him to the end of his second year. If carried out over a period of time, each student would spend the first two years at college being helped by a senior student, and then act as a tutor to a junior for the two senior years.

In order for this to work well, time has to be set aside for working together and well-defined tasks must be set. With this proviso, it has already worked well elsewhere in the world. It gives both students opportunities for the *real* communication we hear so much about. Moreover it does not perturb the normal pattern of classroom teaching, since it can be conducted in self-study time.

Space does not permit the detailed description of other possible techniques, but readers will readily see the possibilities arising from students keeping a diary in English, being set a group project (e.g. compiling an anthology in English), or setting up self-access rooms (Hayes 1978). The key feature of all the above suggestions is that they utilize the strengths of Chinese students and teachers, without upsetting the hallowed patterns of traditional practices.

Conclusion

Our attitudes towards change are ambivalent. On the one hand, we know that there is "nothing new under the sun" (Kelly 1969). On the other, we know, as Heraclitus says that, "you cannot step twice into the same river, for other waters are continually flowing in." What is needed is a sense of perspective. When our eye is an inch away, the molehill takes on the proportions of a mountain. Only by distancing ourselves do we see it in proportion.

So it is with change. People need time to distance themselves from it and see it in its true perspective. In this way it can be understood and accepted, and the threat it seemed to be retreats.

At present there are encouraging signs that such a process is taking place. Language teaching materials are familiarizing students with alternative ways of teaching and learning. The success of "Follow Me" testifies to this. But there will also shortly be a new generation of teaching materials. For example, the revised edition of the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute and Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute text books, and the new course published by the Guangzhou Foreign Languages Institute (Li Xiaoju 1983) will also soon be joined by the new television university beginners' course. Recent changes in the language testing requirements after two years of study also point in the same direction. And syllabus revision is currently under way. All this could be described as change from the top down.

But it has been recognized that change from the bottom up is also necessary. In this regard there is great potential in the many Chinese post-graduate scholars recently returned from training overseas. As they assume the responsibilities which will surely fall to them, they will exercise considerable influence for pedagogical change. Perhaps even more important will be the advanced teacher training courses currently being set up by the Ministry of Education. Teacher training is clearly the key to future development, and in this way teachers will be given the confidence to embark upon the uncertain waters of experimentation.

Perhaps then there is hope of reconciling the apparently irreconcilable. The differences are not as absolute as those between chalk and cheese, with flexibility of approach the circle can be squared. Meantime, as proponents of change, we need to be wary of throwing out the valued baby with the worthless bathwater.

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A PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MODEL OF THE CHINESE ESL READER*

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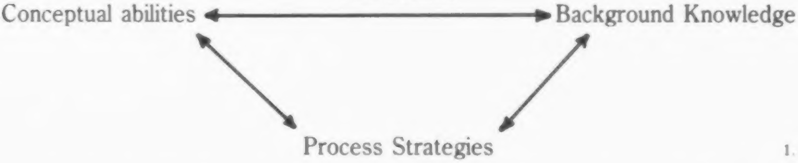
Current research on the nature of the reading process and my own experience teaching English at the Xian Foreign Languages Institute in Xian, People's Republic of China. during 1981-82 have provided me with data that clarify the reading processes of Chinese ESL students. Using a widely accepted model of reading strategies as a foundation, this study constructs a psycholinguistic model of the intermediate to advanced Chinese reader of English; a model that will help teachers understand the behavior, the problems, and the needs of native speakers of Chinese when they read in English.

James Coady's (1979:7) *A Psycholinguistic Model of the ESL Reader* has already given us a useful model of the interactive factors that constitute the reading process for ESL students:

FIGURE 1



1.

Coady also identifies the process strategies used by readers in the following chart. The most concrete strategies are at the top and the most abstract at the

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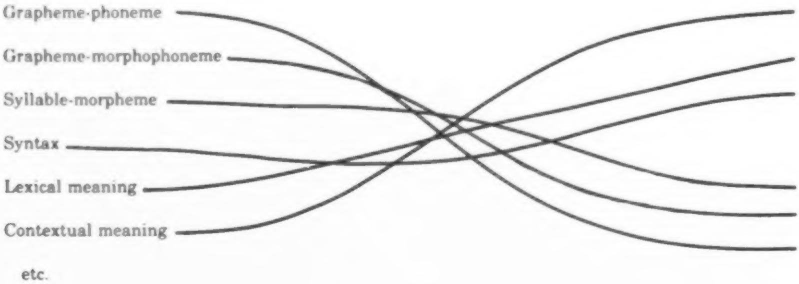
[1,2] From *Reading in a Second Language* by Mackay/Barkman/Jordan. Copyright © 1979, Newbury House Publishers, Inc., Rowley, Massachusetts, 01969. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

bottom. Coady argues that the skilled reader depends more upon the abstract strategies and less upon the concrete, except in occasional moments of doubt or trouble(1979:7).

FIGURE 2
Process Strategies



Relative change in use of process strategies over time is represented from left to right, e.g., beginning to advanced reader.

2.

As readers become more proficient and read more fluently, the abstract strategies are the ones which they use most. Even though the skilled reader may occasionally revert to concrete strategies in difficult passages, the behavior which characterizes an advanced reader includes full use of syntatic, lexical and contextual cues. But Chinese students, (and perhaps many other groups of ESL students) who do not become fluent readers of L2 have failed to switch to these abstract strategies (at the bottom of the list). My observations in China led me to conclude that Chinese students have particular difficulty using those more abstract strategies and attaining fluent levels of reading skill, in part because of a number of socio-cultural factors and also because of adjustments which occur in the switch from reading an ideograpic language to reading an alphabetic one. All these factors influence the Chinese student's progression from a beginning reader to a skilled or advanced reader.

There is at least one theoretical issue which we must address before we turn to the specific psycholinguistic and socio-cultural factors that help shape reading behavior: whether or not one can apply theories and models of the reading process which have been developed for reading in English to the reading process in a language as different, logographically, phonetically and structurally, as Chinese. By assuming that research in reading in English can be applied to other languages, we may be doing what Downing has warned against: using an "ethnocentric or linguacentric view" which would lead "to an unthinking acceptance of the practices of teaching and writing developed in one's own language"(1973b:71). The result could be false transfers, faulty assumptions, and inferences which may be without foundation.

But that concern appears unnecessary. Gray's (1956) early work as well as recent works by Goodman (1975), Rigg (1977) and Barrera (1981) all conclude that many basic elements and strategies in the reading process are universal and exist in widely variant languages. Thus, in order to learn first hand about Chinese reading habits, I turned to my Chinese colleagues and encouraged them to give me descriptions of the reading process in their native language. In discussions and class exercises they described their reading in Chinese in terms quite similar to those outlined by Goodman (1967) in *Reading: a psycholinguistic guessing game*. Their comments substantiated Goodman's view: there is no reason to believe that the reading process varies greatly from language to language, whether the "graphic sequence is left to right, right to left, or top to bottom"(1975:26). Accepting these universals, we can proceed on the basis that the psycholinguistic factors which Western linguists have identified as part of the reading process for native readers of English also shape Chinese students' reading strategies.

Current reading research encompasses a variety of studies – neurological studies of brain function, right/left hemisphere studies about language usage, contrastive studies of the reading process in different languages, phonological recoding studies, and studies of transfer of skills from L1 to L2 – to mention a few. Each area provides copious information, but the information does not necessarily help explain the problems of Chinese ESL readers.

Neurological studies of brain function, including right/left hemisphere studies of language usage, focus on the way the brain processes language. Some studies contend that Chinese and Japanese readers process individual characters and sounds in a different hemisphere, or in a different way, than readers of nonlogographic scripts. But since the studies also indicate that the reading process occurs in the left hemisphere for both Chinese and Western readers, this research material is not very helpful in describing the behavior of Chinese readers of English (Tzeng, Hung and Garro 1978; Biederman and Tsao 1979; Tzeng, Hung, Cotton and Wang 1979; Tzeng and Hung 1980; Tzeng and Hung 1981).

Another set of studies, those which focus on different strategies used by readers of alphabets and those used by readers of logographic script, examines the way words are built and recognized, and the speed and accuracy of native readers of different languages at various levels. Some argue that Chinese writing is too clumsy and complex to allow for widespread literacy (Gelb 1952, Goody 1968, Havelock 1976). But others insist that "the difference between logographic and alphabetic writing systems may have been exaggerated" (Downing 1973a:150). These recent studies challenge the idea that Chinese characters are arbitrary and demand unreasonable powers of memorization. Instead, they stress certain similarities between ideographic and alphabetic writing. Leong argues that "the radicals and phonetics composing a character constitute the critical units and resemble morphophonemics in English" (1978:161). In a comparison of writing systems, Smith concludes that "to the fluent reader the alphabetic principle is completely irrelevant. He identifies every word (if he identifies words at all) as an ideogram" (1975:124). A number of other studies provide further evidence to support an argument that reading Chinese is not such a difficult, complex, or mysterious process(Carroll 1972, Nelson and Ladan 1976, Liu 1978, Wang 1981). I recommend these studies to all Westerners; we are so convinced of the simplicity of the alphabet that we probably have overemphasized the difficulties of learning to read a logographic script and have made assumptions from that cultural bias. On the other hand, the studies do not shed much light on the reading problems which my students encountered.

Another research area, that of phonological recoding studies, tests whether or not Chinese readers recode from print to speech, looking at that process as an important part of reading. (The same debate occurs about readers of English). Liu (1978) and Shwedel (1983) argue that Chinese readers, when reading in their native language, do not recode. Others argue that they do – although the process is not intrinsic to the reading process (Tzeng, Hung and Wang 1977; Tzeng and Hung 1980; Treiman, Baron and Luk 1981). The debate is technical and lengthy; moreover, it revealed little that helped explain my Chinese students' reading behavior. Indeed, what is more important in shaping reading habits in their second language is the training that Chinese students receive during years of schooling to read a text aloud.

Although these studies provide much to consider and a fascinating variety of perspectives, they do not provide as direct a look at the strategies used by Chinese readers of English as I had hoped. Their results are not always verifiable by repetition; their experiments are often conducted on patients with aphasia (rather than on *normal* readers), and their inferences come from small samples. Yorio (1981:57) argues that we cannot base our programs and methods on neurolinguistic evidence which is incomplete at best.

However, two fruitful lines of investigation have been, first, that of skills transfer from L1 to L2 and, second, socio-cultural interference as a factor in the acquisition of reading skills. The later includes students' attitudes toward reading, a long tradition of reading aloud, traditional study habits, expectations for literary works, attitudes toward the target language and the level of the students' background knowledge.

Transfer of Reading Skills from L1 to L2

In examining the process of transfer of skills, the first question is how much the native speaker of Chinese can transfer from L1 to L2. What skills are useful in both languages? What process strategies from Chinese will transfer to the reading of English? There are such apparent differences in the two writing systems that it is difficult to determine the amount of transfer, especially for beginning readers. For example, there is no grapheme-phoneme recognition process in reading Chinese characters. But the Chinese beginning reader of English must learn those correspondences, a strategy never needed in L1. In the next process strategy, the grapheme-morphophoneme, the situation is different, but still complex. Most Chinese characters consist of two elements – a radical, which provides a cue to meaning, and a phonemic, which provides information about pronunciation. The existence of these parts sets up a possible transfer from reading characters to reading words. The possibility of that transfer is supported by Leong's argument that the frequent repetition of about two hundred radicals in Chinese "must necessarily relate to morphological and spelling constraints that are analogous to English" (1973:392). On the level of syllable-morpheme there is even more possibility of transfer, since this process strategy is one heavily used by Chinese students reading in L1.

As the student gains ability and has some mastery over L2, there are the more abstract process strategies which can be transferred, but which too often are not because of socio-cultural interference. In a study of the correlation between a student's level of reading comprehension in his native language and level of reading comprehension in English, Groebel (1980) concluded that where higher levels of reading comprehension are tested, there is a demonstrable similarity between the student's ability in the native language and the target language. Furthermore, Mott (1981) illustrated that for German students reading in German and English there was a correlation between the reading comprehension and ability in both languages; indeed, she argues for being able to predict a student's performance from knowing about his/her skill in L1. That conclusion, however, is less obvious for Chinese students; my fourth year students in a foreign language institute had not attained advanced levels of reading skill. Even the very best speakers and learners were painfully slow readers.

To investigate the causes, I first established that the Chinese teachers use reading strategies and skills just like the ones used by native English speakers when reading in their own language. A lengthy discussion with Chinese teachers at my school (all proficient *speakers* of English) about the strategy of guessing words from context in their native language revealed that they recognize and use all of the types of context which Clarke and Silberstein (1977:145-6) identify in Toward a Realization of Psycholinguistic Principles in the ESL Reading Class: synonym in apposition, antonym, cause and effect, association between an object and its purpose or use, description and example. All the teachers agreed that those strategies are ones they frequently use when reading in Chinese, and use automatically. They agreed that they did not run to the dictionary to look up an unfamiliar Chinese character except as a last resort, if then. And they certainly used skimming and scanning techniques when reading magazines or newspaper articles, as well as predicting strategies. But when we discussed the transfer of those skills to reading in English, they said it was not possible, not even thinkable. More discussion ensued, and we explored their objections to my hypothesis that transfer was both possible and usually desirable. They argued first that as L2 readers they had very limited vocabularies and had to stop at each new word to look it up. They also insisted that they could not go from one sentence they did not understand to a following sentence without stopping to clarify the first one. The result would be confusion. Finally, they argued that the best way to understand a text was to read it aloud—to recite it carefully—many times over. Each of those techniques is useful to some degree, but I saw that these techniques were the ones being used to the exclusion of other, more abstract, strategies.

Certainly there are good reasons for their hesitation. Yorio (1971:108) explains that the ESL reader is at a great disadvantage because of a number of factors, including an imperfect knowledge of the language, unfamiliar cultural assumptions, and continuous interference from the native language. Added to those problems are the cultural assumptions which Chinese students also brought to the task. Both sets of problems delayed the transfer of reading skills from the advanced level of L1 to reading in L2.

Cultural Influences

The cultural assumptions which influence Chinese readers of English include their attitudes toward reading, the intensive/extensive reading classes in their schools, reading aloud, traditional testing methods, and cultural expectations regarding literature. A recent study by Devine (1983) of the internalized models of the reading process which ESL students have of their own ability to read provides evidence that students have sound-centered, word-centered or meaning-centered models of the process. Chinese students in my classes would certainly fit into the first two of those models for L2, but few would have practiced the meaning-centered process, even though that is the process they use as mature readers of L1. [Richard (1982) and Kraemer (1982) have both found similar problems with Japanese students who have the strategies for decoding but focus too much on details rather than on comprehension strategies.] That meaning-centered model would also entail the use of the abstract strategies, but one of the cultural attitudes which the Chinese have towards books and learning slows the leap to such a model.

The Chinese have a great reverence for education and learning (T. Scovel 1983) as well as enormous respect for the written word (Maley 1983), both of which are reflected in the traditional way of teaching in China. The Chinese have placed great emphasis on memorization of texts (Chang 1983), and Janene Scovel describes how children are taught to memorize without being asked to understand the meaning of the text. She concludes that "the discipline to memorize and learn by rote is believed to be an essential characteristic necessary for successful language learning in China" (1983:106). Those attitudes, I posit, are transferred to the learning of English. The Chinese teachers in my classes who read articles by Goodman or Coady about the reading process were quick to contrast the ideas in those articles with the traditional attitudes toward reading which they received in their own educations. They were quite conscious of the importance that memorizing had played in their language learning process. They were less conscious of other perceptual and cognitive processes which occurred as they learned L1. Leong argues that "although each character has to be learned, the often-mentioned reliance on rote memory is overrated"(1973:387). Moreover, these teachers recognized their own use of abstract strategies in L2 when those strategies were illustrated and demonstrated through exercises in class.

The issue here seems to be mainly what conscious *strategies* we take with us from the learning process. Chinese readers' transfer of skills from L1 to L2 is actually the transfer of the conscious skills which Chinese readers use in L1 – ones which were explicit, repeated and discussed as methods in their own elementary, secondary and even tertiary educations. By coming to understand some of the *unconscious* strategies which they also used to become skilled L1 readers, they will be able to improve their reading ability in L2. Chinese teachers in my class became deeply interested in these abstract processes as they were discussed in our class meetings. They were eager to practice those skills and to become more meaning-centered readers. Using materials such as newspapers, *Reader's Choice* (Baudoin et al. 1977), and nonfiction, they practiced and discussed the techniques they were using.

Chinese students' and teachers' attitudes toward reading and the reading process have also been shaped by the curriculum in Chinese secondary and tertiary institutions, a curriculum that specifies both intensive reading and extensive reading courses. T. Scovel (1983), J. Scovel (1983) and Maley (1983) all give descriptions of the confusion that the term "intensive reading" causes for foreign teachers who teach in China. When foreign teachers at my school questioned their Chinese colleagues about the meanings of the two terms, long discussions occurred as we argued the need for accurate, precise translations versus the usefulness of general, rapid comprehension. Teachers there were in the process of self-criticism and a careful revision of these courses. Their attitudes indicated that they were remarkably flexible and open to new ideas (Hui 1983). Teachers in the reading class explained that the course titled "intensive reading" was really a language skills course and had little to do with teaching reading. The "extensive reading" course was supposed to teach reading skills, but had lapsed into a course basically the same as the intensive course – with detailed translations, frequent grammar exercises, focus on sentence-length passages, and memorization of passages – because the teachers brought to the class their assumptions about reading that evolved from their own past training.

The practice of reading aloud has also shaped Chinese students' and teachers' attitudes about reading. My students and colleagues often explained to me that the practice of getting up early in the morning and walking outside with their intensive reading texts, reading (or declaiming) at full voice was clear evidence of their diligence, skill, and strength. In classrooms, whether they were between classes or trying to study for a test, they usually read passages aloud, creating a cacaphony of some note. When we discussed the value of reading the text aloud, they explained that it helped them to understand and to remember the material. Thus, students may have transferred their traditional study method of reading aloud in learning Chinese (as described by J. Scovel 1983) to the learning of English. They focused on short passages, committed them to memory, repeated them aloud. They felt that they understood the material because they had committed it to memory. The whole exercise enforces the sound-centered model of reading and does not encourage the student to use more abstract strategies.

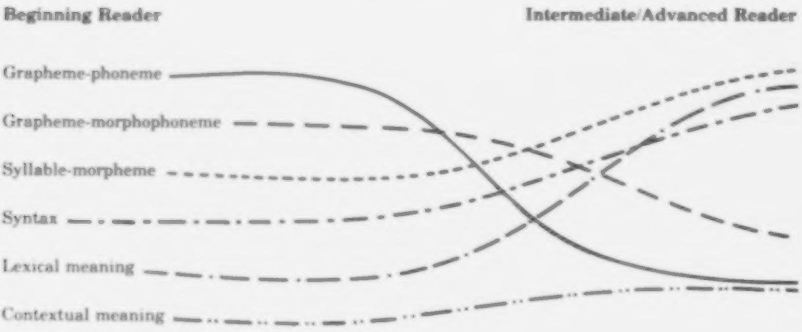
A final influence shapes Chinese students' and teachers' attitudes toward the reading process in L2: the cultural assumptions and expectations they bring to the reading of literature. Chinese novels and stories have a markedly different literary tradition of rhetorical and narrative conventions that shape the Chinese readers' expectations (Cole et al. 1971, Bloom 1981, Plaks 1977). Western expectations about plot sequence, character development, suspense and motivation are all shaped by those traditions. Chinese schools emphasize reading of literature as a way of learning a language, and Chinese students are eager to read and understand all of American literature. But different literary and rhetorical traditions increase the difficulty of that study. The Chinese, in contrast to Japanese or Western ESL students, are especially deprived of access to background information about Western culture. Even the most diligent of them are able to bring very little background to the text because they have not had access to the materials. And without that background information the process of reading novels, stories, and most of all poetry is quite difficult (see Debyasuvarn 1970, Field 1984, McDermott 1977, Schafer 1981, Johnson 1982, Perkins 1983).

Using the interactive factors which Coady (1979) established – process strategies, background knowledge, conceptual abilities – we see that there are weak links in the system for Chinese students. Certainly their conceptual abilities equal those of any other group of students; indeed, the discipline they have learned in their studies makes them especially devoted and diligent. But the background knowledge that a Chinese student brings to a reading of Western essays, stories, novels or poetry will be limited. It is obvious that students who have never seen or heard of a golf course will have difficulty with a story which depends on knowledge of that cultural information. And a more subtle and complex issue such as understanding the relationships between parents and children in American culture will create enormous problems since Chinese students will bring little information to the story from a knowledge of America, and their own experience may cause them to make assumptions which do not apply to American life. Add, finally, the cultural interferences that keep students from using abstract reading strategies and a new model emerges.

A Psycholinguistic Model of the Chinese Reader of English

My proposed model of the Chinese ESL reader is thus different from the one developed by Coady (1979). The process strategies defined by Coady have been influenced by transfer (or lack of transfer) from L1 to L2, by cultural attitudes, and by the traditional Chinese study habits. A variety of factors have made Chinese students reluctant to give up dependence on concrete strategies and have even made it particularly difficult for most Chinese students to move on to the abstract strategies without special help and encouragement. Although it will take more analysis to determine how much of the failure to use abstract strategies comes from the encounter with new or unfamiliar material, how much comes from the cultural interferences, and how much is the result of transfer patterns, the following model helps to explain why so many Chinese students I encountered could speak English quite well but read with painful slowness and rather low comprehension. The most marked differences in this chart and Coady's appear in the grapheme-phoneme, syllable-morpheme and contextural meaning strategies.

FIGURE 3



An analysis of each line on the chart reveals that some strategies have been reinforced: transfer or cultural factors have caused students to keep on using a strategy even when it prevents them from moving to more fluent levels of reading speed and comprehension. In addition, other strategies have been discouraged by cultural or transfer patterns, and Chinese students are slow to use them. These students continue to use syllable-morpheme and grapheme-morphophoneme long after they are efficient; and since the contextural meaning and syntax strategies have been discouraged, they are slower to develop those skills.

Grapheme-phoneme: Students learn this strategy when they begin the study of an alphabetic language like English. Since there appears to be no transfer from L1, they do not depend heavily on this process as they become more advanced readers. However, they are hesitant to discard it completely and may revert to the grapheme-phoneme level instead of trying to guess from context in L2.

Grapheme-morphophoneme: The practice of looking for radicals within Chinese characters appears to have *reinforced* this strategy also, making students rely upon it when more abstract strategies would increase their reading speed and comprehension.

Syllable-morpheme: This strategy has been greatly *reinforced* by the transfer from reading Chinese characters in L1; the syllable provides the cue to meaning. In addition, Chinese students rely on this technique when reading aloud. Students continue to read assignments aloud, even when they should be at advanced reading levels, and their reading speed seldom improves.

Syntax: This strategy has been *discouraged* by the practice of detailed translation of English into Chinese in order to comprehend. In other words, students do not venture to guess the meaning of a word or the function of a word from its place in the sentence. Even though Chinese students use syntax cues constantly in reading in L1, they are slow to transfer that strategy to L2.

Lexical meaning: This strategy has been *reinforced* to the extent that students constantly use the dictionary to check on the specific meaning of a word. But as a result, students hesitate to guess the meaning of a word and they often write in the Chinese translation of a word over the English word in the text. Thus, they do not develop the skill of recognizing words quickly and gaining reading speed.

Contextual meaning: This most abstract strategy has been *discouraged* by the traditional teaching methods, by the demands for translations of all types of reading materials, and by the demands for word accuracy rather than general understanding. Again, this strategy is one which Chinese students use when reading in L1, but hesitate to transfer to L2.

The way each of these strategies have been either encouraged or discouraged makes evident why the shift to abstract strategies, which occurs in the model presented by Coady, does not occur so rapidly, if at all, among Chinese readers. These readers rarely develop much ability to shift from one strategy to another when the material or the reading task demands a shift because their learning patterns discourage such shifting. Yet that ability to shift is a crucial step to master in order to become a skilled reader (see Gibson and Levin 1975, Hill 1981, Laberge and Samuels 1974, Van Parreren and Schouten-Van Parreren 1981, Goodman et al. 1978).

In Coady's (1979) model there is a clear interaction between conceptual abilities, background knowledge and process strategies. But Chinese students lack the visual and cultural materials to build background knowledge, so the process strategies and conceptual abilities are not fully reinforced. Likewise, when students are chained to process strategies that remain relatively concrete rather than moving to abstract ones, the interactive process breaks down. They are not able to use their conceptual abilities to the fullest potential.

Students reading in L1 or L2, when faced with a particularly difficult reading task, will certainly revert to concrete reading strategies. But with practice using more abstract strategies, especially the use of contextual cues, their dependence on the others may lessen; more fluent reading will then develop. What remains is for teachers to make these process strategies conscious and explicit, to help students become aware of the strategies they use when reading in L1, and then to help students transfer those strategies to L2. When students become aware of the strategies they already use in L1 to improve their reading skill and comprehension in L2, they can make conscious efforts to develop those skills. The process is slow, and cultural interferences, attitudes toward the nature of the learning process as well as many of the other factors discussed above will complicate the teacher's efforts.

Chinese students' reading strategies are shaped by their cultural assumptions and by the background information (or lack of it) that they bring to the material about the people and situtations. But most important, their reading strategies are influenced by traditional methods of reading which have led to investigating each word without always understanding the general concepts of the work, and by an attitude toward literature that assumes a philosophical meaning of depth and significance which slows the reading process and may cause the student to use concrete strategies when they are not really needed. Making these issues conscious for our students will help them develop the reading strategies most appropriate for the reading task at hand.

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EFL CURRICULUM INNOVATION AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES*

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Introduction

In studies of foreign language curriculum innovation in public education systems the main emphasis has been on large scale changes brought about by educational planners to the system itself. At this macro level, curriculum innovation is typically initiated by educational authorities and carried through by institutions such as curriculum development committees, teacher training colleges, and public testing services. For the purposes of this paper, such changes brought about within an educational system itself we will call *systemic* changes. However, the documented cases of the failures of systemic changes to achieve their objectives (Mountford 1981 on Yemen; Etherton 1979, and Rodgers 1981 on Malaysia) give us cause to doubt that a purely systemic change can ever be wholly effective in bringing about better teaching and learning without a concomitant change in the behavior and attitudes of teachers. In Candlin's words:

> Innovation implies change and, understandably enough focuses the minds of the participants on action. There is a tendency for this *action* to be understood in terms of *activity* particularly oriented towards the tangible products of materials and printed work, less on the intangible process of personal development of the teachers and other participants concerned (1983:21).

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It is this process of personal development of the teachers, or more specifically the process of attitude change, that we focus on in the present paper. We hope to show that teachers' attitudes are a crucial variable in the dynamic of English as a foreign language curriculum innovation; that without effecting a change in teachers' attitudes any systemic innovation in the curriculum which purports to bring about a communicative dimension to EFL instruction will not have a significant effect on what goes on in classrooms; and lastly, that teachers' attitudes are a product of values and attitudes within a particular culture, and thus, of all the factors in curriculum innovation, they are the least susceptible to change. The paper is in four parts. In the first part we will review the theoretical basis for establishing a connection between teachers' attitudes and their classroom behavior. In the second part we will review empirical studies in support of this connection. We will then report on our own attempt at attitude change through an in-service teacher training program. Finally, we will consider two alternative explanations for our results.

Education and Teachers Attitudes

The relevance of teachers' attitudes to the nature of communication in the classroom was first pointed out in a classic study by Barnes and Schemilt (1974). These two researchers investigated the attitudes of various teachers at schools in Britain to their pupils' written work. Teachers were asked to complete an open-ended questionnaire about the reasons why they set written work for their students, and what they did with the written work after it had been handed in. Barnes and Schemilt found that replies to the questionnaire fell into two reasonably distinct categories which they labeled *Transmission* and *Interpretation*. Figure 1 shows how these attitudes differed on the four dimensions of (1) attitudes towards knowledge, (2) attitudes towards evaluating the learners' performance, (3) attitudes towards the role of the teacher, and (4) perceptions of the role of the learners.

The transmission-interpretation dichotomy has proved to be a powerful way of looking at the structure of classroom communication. Although it is stated in terms of teachers' attitudes, Barnes (1976) in a later development relates these attitudes to the behavior of teachers in classrooms. Barnes' hypothesis is that a transmission attitude is consonant with the teacher's role as a provider of information; it encourages students to contribute to classroom communication only through the presentation of a finished draft, of a well-thought-through idea; and this attitude fosters an academic kind of learning which is not directly related to the learners' purposes and needs. On the other hand, an interpretation attitude encourages a role for the teacher in which the learners' replies to the teacher's questions are treated as of value in their own right, and not simply in function of whether they correspond to the teacher's view of correctness; the students are free to explore the subject in collaboration with other students and with the teacher without the fear of the teacher's judgment of right or wrong; and lastly, the interpretation attitude fosters a kind of learning which goes beyond the bounds of normal academic knowledge, and can be related to the students' needs and interests outside school.

The relevance of the foregoing discussion of teachers' attitudes to the dynamic of EFL curriculum innovation becomes apparent when we consider the types

FIGURE 1
Differences in attitude between transmission and interpretation teachers

The transmission teacher . . .	The interpretation teacher . . .
(i) believes knowledge to exist in the form of public disciplines which include content and criteria of performance;	(i) believes knowledge to exist in the knower's ability to organize thought and action;
(ii) values the learners' performances insofar as they conform to the criteria of the discipline;	(ii) values the learners' commitment to interpreting reality, so that criteria arise as much from the learner as from the teacher;
(iii) perceives the teacher's role to be the evaluation and correction of the learners' performance, according to criteria of which the teacher is the sole guardian;	(iii) perceives the teacher's role to be the setting up of a dialog in which the learners can reshape their knowledge through interaction with others;
(iv) perceives learners as uninformed acolytes for whom access to knowledge will be difficult since they will have to qualify themselves through tests of appropriate performance.	(iv) perceives learners as already possessing systematic and relevant knowledge and the means of reshaping that knowledge

of learning which Barnes (1976) claims are fostered by the transmission and interpretation teachers. The school knowledge versus action knowledge dichotomy is reflected almost exactly in the concern of EFL curriculum innovators for a move from an EFL curriculum organized around the teaching of formal elements of the language – the grammatical patterns and vocabulary – to one in which English is used for the purposes of communication, in which students may use whatever resources they have at hand to communicate with each other and with the teacher about whatever is relevant to their individual needs and interests. The same point is made by Brumfit (1983) with regard to the distinction which he draws between accuracy and fluency activities in the EFL classroom. Classroom activities that foster lanquage use and negotiation of meaning through meaningful interaction, Brumfit calls *fluency* activities, and he contrasts these with classroom activities whose main function is to practice correct realization of the language system, which he calls *accuracy* activities. The crucial methodological distinction between accuracy and fluency activities is what Brumfit calls the *constraint on divergence*, by which he means that the language used by learners in an accuracy activity is in some way predetermined by the teacher or by the activity, while in a fluency activity there is no such predetermined constraint and learners are free to call upon whatever linguistic and nonlinguistic resources they have at their disposal in order to accomplish the task set by the activity.

It is important to realize that many techniques in the armory of the trained EFL teacher can be used in class as either accuracy activities, or as fluency activities depending on the aims of the teacher. Thus a dyadic communication game such as "Describe and Draw" (Byrne and Rixon 1978:7-9) is normally an open-ended activity in which one student describes a picture to a second student who then attempts to draw what is being described without seeing the original picture until the end of the activity. If the teacher restricts the picture to be described to simple geometrical forms, such as squares and circles of different colors, and preteaches the language necessary to describe those forms, the "Describe and Draw" game is then an accuracy activity designed to practice the language which has been pretaught. Equally, a shift of emphasis in the opposite direction may transform what is normally an accuracy activity into a fluency one. Thus multiple choice reading comprehension questions are normally used as an accuracy activity in which the aim is to discover the correct answer. Munby (1968), however, suggests a way of using multiple choice comprehension questions in small group discussions in class in which the members of each group decide among themselves which is the best option without the intervention of the teacher. In this case, since neither the language of the discussion is predetermined, nor is there any sense in which any learner has prior knowledge of the 'correct' answer, multiple choice reading comprehension questions take on the guise of a fluency activity.

It is, thus, not in the nature of a given technique that accuracy or fluency lies, but rather in the purposes to which a teacher puts that technique. In turn, these purposes are likely to be affected by the teachers' attitude. It seems likely that transmission teachers will find that accuracy activities fit well with their view of what constitutes knowledge, and their perspective on the teaching-learning situation, and correspondingly, fluency activities are more likely to appeal to teachers with an interpretation outlook. How far this correlation translates into actual differences in classroom behavior is of course an empirical question. It may well be that training, experience, and the latest methodological trends will have an influence on teachers' behavior in the classroom, as will their tactical reactions to pedagogic problems raised by different individuals and groups of learners. However, it still seems to us a reasonable hypothesis that, other things being equal, the proportion of fluency work to accuracy work in a transmission teacher's lesson will be lower than for an interpretation teacher. The following section will report on some experimental evidence in favor of this hypothesis.

Measuring Attitudes and Behavior

The empirical studies which have been carried out within the framework of the Barnes (1976) model of attitude and classroom interaction have all used some variety of questionnaire in order to measure teachers' attitudes on a transmission-interpretation scale. Gardner and Taylor (1980) carried out a study of Australian high school students in which a questionnaire designed to elicit students' views of their teachers on a transmission-interpretation scale was used. The replies to the questionnaire were found to correlate highly with the students' views of the same teachers as directive or non-directive. D.C. Young (1981) devised a 40-item transmission-interpretation questionnaire to elicit teachers' attitudes to the teaching of English in Britain, and standardized it on a population of British teachers. A modified version of this questionnaire was used by Falvey (1983) to investigate the relationship between teachers' attitudes and their classroom behavior among native English speaking teachers of EFL in Hong Kong.

Falvey's (1983) questionnaire consisted of 40 statements about some aspect of teaching or learning English as a foreign language, 11 of which were positive items (e.g. "Students should frequently be given the opportunity to participate in activities which involve spoken interaction without having to pay too much attention to the grammatical accuracy of their utterances"), and 19 of which were reversed (e.g. "Direct instruction in the rules and terminology of grammar is essential if students are to learn to communicate correctly and effectively"), the remaining 10 items being fillers, replies to which were not counted in the final scoring of the questionnaire. Falvey administered the questionnaire to 35 native-speaking teachers of EFL in Hong Kong, and after scoring their replies, identified two teachers who represented extreme transmission and extreme interpretation views. Both teachers then taught a one hour EFL lesson to their normal class of intermediate Hong Kong Chinese students, and the classes were videotaped. Neither of the teachers was aware of the purpose of the videotaping. The two lessons were then transcribed and analyzed according to the model of classroom discourse proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), as adapted for the EFL classroom by Willis (1981). Tables 1-3 are our own representations and calculations based on Falvey's data.

TABLE 1

Proportions of one hour leson spent in various types of interaction by an interpretation teacher and a transmission teacher

	Interaction type				
	Teacher & whole class	**Teacher & one student**	**Student & student**	**Silence**	**Total**
Interpretation teacher	3'29" (6%)	14'31" (24%)	42' (69%)	1'11" (2%)	61'11" (100%)
Transmission teacher	2'45" (5%)	36'15" (60%)	13'13" (22%)	7'47" (13%)	60' (100%)

(χ_2 = 29.94; 3df; $p < 0.001$)

TABLE 2

Proportions of teacher- and student-initiated teaching exchanges in the two lessons

	Teaching exchanges		
	Teacher-initiated	**Student-initiated**	**Total**
Interpretation teacher	91 (85%)	13 (15%)	104 (100%)
Transmission teacher	187 (96%)	7 (4%)	194 (100%)

(χ = 7.19; 1 df; $p < 0.01$)

TABLE 3
Proportions of different kinds of teacher-initiated free exchanges in the two lessons

	Teacher-initiated free exchanges				
	Inform	Elicit-open	Elicit-check	Direct	Total
Interpretation teacher	5 (7%)	41 (59%)	1 (1%	22 (32%)	69 (100%)
Transmission teacher	8 (6%)	19 (15%)	22 (17%)	77 (61%)	126 (100%)

(χ = 45.74; 3 df; $p < 0.001$)

These tables show clearly that the different attitudes of the two teachers as measured on the transmission-interpretation questionnaire translate into significant differences in teaching style. This is especially noteworthy, since the two teachers were matched on a number of other variables such as age, sex, and teaching experience, and the two lessons were basically comparable oral activity lessons to similar groups of learners from the same L1 background, and with the same level of proficiency in English. Table 1 shows that there was a highly significant difference between the proportions of different types of interaction which occurred in the two lessons. Fully 69% of the interpretation teacher's lesson was spent in student-student interaction, in comparison to only 22% for the transmission teacher. Conversely, 60% of the transmission teacher's lesson was spent in interaction between herself and one student at a time, whereas the comparable figure for the interpretation teacher was only 24%. Table 2 shows that there was a small but significant difference between the number of exchanges which were initiated by the teacher and by students for the two teachers. As might be expected, the number of teacher-initiations was overwhelming in both cases, but there were slightly more student initiations in the interpretation teacher's lesson. Lastly, in Table 3, the nature of the teacher-initiations is compared for both teachers. Again, the interpretation teacher asks far more questions which elicit new information (elicit-open exchanges) than display questions to which she already knows the answer (elicit-check exchanges) in the proportion of 41:1: whereas the proportion of open to check exchanges for the transmission teacher is approximately equal at 19:22. The transmission teacher moreover gives far more directions to her class than the interpretation teacher (61% in comparison to 32%).

Falvey's (1983) study thus lends strong support to the relationship between teachers' attitudes and their classroom behavior which Barnes (1976) had outlined in theory. The implication for an innovation in the EFL curriculum which attempts to encourage more fluency activities in the classroom, and to discourage an overemphasis on accuracy work is clear: such an innovation is not likely to succeed through teacher retraining programs unless such programs are able to bring about a corresponding shift in teachers' attitudes toward the nature of language learning and toward their own role in that process.

Teacher Retraining and Attitude Change

Attitudes and techniques of attitude change are fairly well researched topics within the field of social psychology. Three main techniques have been put forward by researchers. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) report that new attitudes are more likely to be transferred through face-to-face communication than through impersonal lectures or mass media communications. Lott and Lott (1960) found that if a certain attitude is held by a particular social group with which an individual wishes to identify, then that attitude will be relatively easier to acquire than would be the case if the attitude were not associated with the target group. Janis and King (1954) found that simple exposure to persuasive communication was not as effective in bringing about attitude change as active participation by the subject in some behavior associated with the new attitude. Thus role play was found to be an effective way of bringing about the reordering of beliefs and needs that is associated with attitude change. These three principles were incorporated in the design of an in-service retraining program for Chinese teachers of English as a foreign language in Hong Kong.

The retraining program was part of a systemic program of curriculum innovation in EFL initiated by the Hong Kong government, involving the redesign of the English syllabus for elementary and high schools, production of new communicatively-based teaching materials, and revision of the public evaluation and testing procedures to reflect the more communicative aims of the new syllabus, as well as a large retraining program for all elementary and high school teachers of English. The stated aim of the retraining program was to effect a change in the knowledge, attitudes, and behavior of participants toward a more communicative orientation to the teaching of English in order to enable them to function effectively after the implementation of the new syllabus. The 90-hour program was modular in design, enabling participants to choose which modular topics to attend in any given week of seven and one-half contact hours. Each module was designed and taught by experienced native-speaking instructors in a way in which it was hoped would allow for maximum effect on participants' attitudes. The style of instruction was highly participant-centered with the participants sitting in small groups actively engaged in problem-solving activities and practical tasks, and with the instructor acting as counsellor and animator to the individual groups. It was through this close personal contact between instructor and participants that it was hoped that new attitudes would be more readily learned as suggested by Krech et al. (1982). In addition to this, the style of instruction adopted also fostered a sense of belonging to a like-minded group of peers, as suggested by Lott and Lott (1960). The program also involved a large amount of experimentation with new fluency techniques for EFL teaching and relatively little explanation of the theoretical framework underlying them. It was hoped in this way to develop the active participation which Janis and King (1954) had mentioned as such an important factor in attitude change.

Since, of the three aims of the retraining program, attitude change was regarded as the most important, an attempt was made to measure what effect if any, the 90-hour program had on participants' attitudes. To this end, Falvey's (1983) adaptation of D.C.Young's (1981) transmission-interpretation questionnaire was administered to participants on the first and last days of the program. The questionnaire was translated into Chinese, and the Chinese version of each item appeared immediately below the original English. The questionnaire was administered by personnel other than those involved in the retraining program, and was administered under similar conditions before and after the treatment program. The results of this exercise are shown in Table 4, and are compared with questionnaire results from other groups in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 4

Numbers of replies, mean, and standard deviation of scores on a transmission-interpretation attitude questionnaire administered before and after a 90-hour teacher retraining program. (High scores indicate interpretation attitudes, low scores indicate transmission.)

	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Before treatment	136	117	14
After treatment	94	122	21

(Difference of means = +5; t = 1.852; 228 df; $p > 0.05$; not significant)

TABLE 5

Replies to the questionnaire from three different groups of Hong Kong Chinese teachers of English at the start of retraining programs

	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Group 1 Chinese elementary school teachers)	136	117	14
Group 2 (Chinese high school teachers)	273	119	23
Group 3 (Chinese elementary school teachers)	123	116	15
Combined groups 1-3	532	117	17

TABLE 6

A comparison of replies to the attitude questionnaire from Hong Kong Chinese teachers, and British, American and Australian teachers

	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Chinese teachers	532	117	17
Native-speaking teachers (Falvey 1983)	35	148	16

As Table 4 shows, teachers who participated in the inservice retraining course showed a slight movement in the direction of an interpretation attitude by the end of the course, but the change was so small as to be statistically insignificant. This result should be interpreted with caution since only 94 of the original 136 teachers took the questionnaire on completion of the program. A number of explanations can be put forward for this disappointing result. First, as is stressed repeatedly in the social psychological literature on attitude change, attitudes are remarkably resistant to attempts to change them. Second, the instrument used to measure attitude may well have been an insensitive measure of attitude change.

The theoretical limits of the scale derived from the questionnaire were a lower limit of 30, and an upper limit of 210, giving a total range of 180 points, and it was on this theoretically maxiumum range that the T-test of significance was conducted, although the actual range of respondents' scores was only from 88 to 168, i.e. a range of 80 points. On this basis a change of +5 points appears more significant, albeit still small.

Table 5 shows an interesting comparison between the scores of the group of teachers in Table 4 with a group of 273 high school teachers, and another group of 123 elementary school teachers measured when all three groups were about to begin separate retraining programs. It shows a remarkable degree of consistency in the mean scores for the three groups, only 3 points separating the highest from the lowest. There was no appreciable difference between the attitudes of teachers in high schools from those of their colleagues in elementary schools. Lastly, Table 6 shows the most interesting comparison of all, between the mean scores on the questionnaire obtained by all three groups of Hong Kong Chinese teachers of EFL, and Falvey's (1983) group of native-speaking (British, American, and Australian) teachers of EFL in Hong Kong. This result shows that the native-speaking teachers score consistently more towards the interpretation end of the scale than do the Chinese teachers, who are consistently more transmission oriented in their attitudes. This result is underlined by D.C. Young's (1981) original calibration of the questionnaire on native-speaking teachers of English in Britain. He found that for British teachers, a score of 133 represented a lower cut-off point, scores below which indicated an extreme transmission attitude, and a score of 174 represented an upper cut-off point, scores above which indicated an extreme interpretation attitude. For the Chinese teachers, however, these extremes make little sense, since the vast majority of scores cluster below the 133 mark, and not one Chinese teacher out of more 400 who took the questionnaire scored above Young's upper cut-off point.

Discussion: Two Models of Curriculum Innovation

From our results and those reported by Falvey (1983), it seems that we can draw a number of conclusions regarding EFL curriculum innovation in non-English-speaking countries through teacher retraining courses. First, there is a strong indication that transmission or interpretation attitudes on the part of EFL teachers are related to their classroom behavior. Teachers with an interpretation attitude allow more time for student-student interaction in their lessons, and ask more questions requiring genuinely informative responses than do teachers with a transmission oriented attitude. Second, although teachers from a similar cultural background exhibit a range of attitudes on a transmission-interpretation scale, populations of teachers from different cultural backgrounds are characterized by very different attitudinal norms. In the present study we have shown that the attitudes of Hong Kong Chinese teachers vary around a norm which is far more oriented transmission than the norm for teachers coming from a Western/Anglo cultural background. Thirdly, this attitudinal norm, being a product of stable values within a particular society, is resistant to change by means of treatments such as teacher retraining programs of the kind described above. The prospects for the success of a systemic curriculum innovation which attempts to replace an accuracy-based teaching method with a fluency-based one are thus not very encouraging.

Rather than conclude on this pessimistic note, however, we would prefer to consider two possible remedies for this state of affairs. One possibility is that the teacher retraining program needs to make a far more radical attempt at attitude change. The other possibility is that curriculum innovators should recognize the stability of teachers' attitudinal norms within a given society, and consequently devise an efficient curriculum around those norms, rather than attempting to change them. We will consider these two alternatives in greater detail below.

1. *More efficient techniques for attitude change.*

In considering how to design a more efficient treatment for attitude change, we shall follow the framework established by Sharan, Darom and Hertz-Lazarowitz (1979) in their work in introducing small group teaching in schools in Israel. The Israeli study identifies three domains in which attitude change may be brought about by retraining courses: experiential, environmental, and cognitive. The experiential domain was identified since clearly attitudes are influenced by one's experience and by one's evaluation of that experience. In the Israeli study it was found that teachers who had more experience of the particular curriculum innovation in question—small group teaching—expressed more positive attitudes towards it than teachers who had had less experience, provided that the initial experience had been a favorable one. Since the experience of successfully using the new techniques in the actual situation in which they are designed to be applied is important to attitude change, there is a clear implication that retraining courses should be based around participants' experiences teaching real students in actual classrooms, and not simply by a simulation of that situation in the controlled environment of the teacher-training institution.

Second, as was identified by Lott and Lott (1960), the attitude of one's peer group and high prestige personalities exert a strong influence on the learning of new attitudes. This is confirmed by the Israeli study in which it was found that the attitudes of the teachers' colleagues and superiors to the new teaching methods were a very important factor in helping or hindering the acquisition of a positive attitude towards the new methods. Here again is an implication for the design of retraining programs: these programs should be organized much more around individual schools in which the whole staff and the school management is involved in the course, rather than being run, as is generally the case, at teacher training institutions where only one or two teachers from any one school attend at a time. Recent British experience with school-based or school-focused retraining courses (Henderson 1979) seems to confirm the greater efficacy of this approach.

The third area identified in the Israeli study is the cognitive domain. One's information about a new way of teaching and one's understanding of the principles underlying it are an important source of attitude formation and change. In fact, the Israeli study found that the teachers' understanding of the principles underlying small group teaching was the most prominent predictor of the attitude of teachers toward the new techniques, indicating that those teachers who are better able to identify the principles underlying a new approach are also more likely to feel that it is a more effective way of teaching. Thus, a model of curriculum innovation by means of retraining courses organized entirely around heuristic training techniques without a cognitive dimension of formal presentation and discussion of the principles involved may not be the most effective way of bringing about a change in attitude and behavior.

2. *Culturally appropriate curricula*

The alternative approach is to recognize the stability of teachers' attitudes and to redesign the curriculum taking these attitudes as a given, rather than attempting to change them. The model of classroom interaction proposed by Barnes (1976), and the Brumfit (1983) accuracy-fluency distinction, when viewed from a cross-cultural perspective, may be no more than descriptions of culturally appropriate patterns of classroom interaction within the particular Western/Anglo culture which spawned them. Research into the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1962, Gumperz and Hymes 1964, Philips 1972) has shown that patterns of interaction in one particular culture are not necessarily transferable to another culture, and if an attempt is made to do this in schools, the educational consequences may be disastrous. Recently, curriculum innovations based upon a recognition of culturally appropriate interactional patterns have had considerable success among Hawaiian children in the Kamehameha Early Education Program (Au and Jordan 1981, Jordan, Au and Joesting 1983), and a start has been made on comparing ethnic Chinese classrooms with mainstream American ones (Sato 1982, Wong Fillmore 1982, van Naerssen, Huang and Yarnall 1983, Guthrie 1984). However, much more ethnographic work is needed on Chinese classrooms in Hong Kong and in other ethnic Chinese communities in Asia and around the world before any practical recommendations can be made for culturally appropriate innovations in the EFL curricula in these communities. Nevertheless, given the apparent stability of Chinese teachers' attitudes, and the radically different attitudinal norms of Chinese and Anglo teachers, the approach of designing a culturally appropriate curriculum may be in the long run more effective in promoting better EFL teaching and learning than attempts at attitude change.

In this respect we are reminded of the remark by an official from the Chinese Ministry of Education in Peking who, on a visit to Hong Kong, found himself in the middle of a debate over the relative merits of the structural and communicative approaches to teaching English as a foreign language. "What we need," said the official, "is not the structural approach, nor the communicative approach. We need the Chinese approach."

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A FULLY FUNCTIONAL ESL SYLLABUS: A PIONEERING EFFORT IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

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The functional-notional approach to language teaching, in one form or the other, has been around for over a decade. Quite a lot has been written about it; it has been bandied about, misunderstood, misidentified, experimented upon, criticized as a bandwagon, and finally even put away under the umbrella of the magic phrase "communicative language teaching". It is not my purpose here to go into the theoretical issues defining notions or language functions except in terms of the specific interpretation of them within the framework of the Papua New Guinea Syllabus. By "notions" are meant abstract categories of the human conceptual system, possibly language independent, but yet somehow language oriented. "Functions" are communicative intents, instances of purposeful, goal-oriented language behavior. Language functions are realized through language forms with ordinarily no one-to-one correspondence between the form and the function. The same notion can manifest in a variety of functions, each of which again can be realized through a variety of forms. Conversely, a single utterance form can perform a variety of functions and contain a number of notions. For example, "I am going to be here for three weeks" is a positive declarative sentence in form, with a subject, verb and prepositional phrase. Its function, however, will be decided by a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic factors that control the pragmatics of the utterance. It could be a promise, an announcement, a threat, an excuse or even a refusal to do something, and perhaps many other things

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*This paper comes out of my acquaintance with the high school system and the teacher training program at the Goroka Teachers College of the University of Papua New Guinea, where I worked as a teacher educator for three years. During those years I was also involved in the development of the secondary English syllabus as a member of the Papua New Guinea Provincial High School English Syllabus Advisory Committee. I have based my information on my first hand experiences and also extensively on the information from the archives of the English Curriculum Division of the Papua New Guinea Department of Education, unreservedly provided by the Senior Curriculum Officer, Mr. Alex Scott, whose sense of purpose and resilience have largely kept the curriculum going.

depending on the communicative intent of the speaker. There are at least five notions involved in the sentence: identification, existence, deixis, quantity and time. In order not to be bogged down by the theoretical interpretations of notions or functions, a practical, composite unit "language use" has been made the prime unit of the Papua New Guinea Syllabus. In the words of the originator of the syllabus:

> The term *functional* as it is used here, does not only refer to what is sometimes known as the *communicative function* or *functional meaning* (i.e. the social purpose of the utterance). It refers also to the *conceptual function* or *conceptual meaning* (i.e. the conceptual focus of the utterance). Thus what we are here calling a *functional syllabus* is what Wilkins has called a *notional syllabus* (Barnett n.d.:3).

(The term *language use* is envisaged as slightly broader than normal communicative functions in that it also incorporates notional meaning.)

A few words of background information may be relevent here. Papua New Guinea is a young nation in the South Pacific with a population of about three million, known to the West mostly for its interesting anthropological features. The apparent smallness of the population is highly misleading. The country is extremely complex demographically and incredibly diverse linguistically. There are a little more than seven hundred living languages, mostly of the Austronesian and Melanesian families. Literacy is not very high, thanks to the efforts of the erstwhile colonial masters.

The educational system starts with six years of primary school. About a third of the primary school graduates, selected on a regional basis for political reasons of national parity, are allowed to go on to a four-year secondary or high school program of grades 7 through 10 in what are called Provincial High Schools. It is with the English syllabus of these very schools that we are concerned here. Some twenty years ago secondary schools were very few and graduates numbered under a hundred. Today there are over one hundred high schools with an annual turnover of about 10,000 graduates. Most of the schools are residential. It is not uncommon to have a class of 30 to 40 students, where not more than two or three will have the same first language. Most students will be bi- or trilingual. The medium of instruction from the first year of the primary school is English. The general lingua franca of the country is TOK PISIN (that is, New Guinea Pidgin) or English or Hiri Motu, depending on the region, situation, role relationship, medium, domain, level of formality, etc.

Such diverse ethnic, tribal and consequent linguistic factors create a strange situation where English has a unique and unparallelled role. Unlike India, there is a total dependence on English at all levels of education and public life. Unlike Nigeria, English is not the only link language. Unlike Ethiopia, English is not merely the language of secondary or higher education, but also of government administration. The English syllabus, therefore, has to be very sensitive to the complex role English has in the public life of Papua New Guinea. English learning has to be freed from cultural dependence and have a more pragmatic goal.

Several factors culminated in the development of the functional-notional approach. Earlier versions of the syllabus were largely traditional drawing upon the pattern used in the State of Queensland in Australia. This was subsequently replaced by a specially-designed "territory" syllabus, which, while still emphasizing adherence to standard English structure, urged "greater latitude of expression in order to facilitate the eventual creation of a local variant of English that is internationally comprehensible but embodies the cultural and national characteristics of its users" (Department of Education Documents 1981:3). Independence brought about a change in attitude towards both the place and role of English, and the newly independent country felt the need to revitalize its outdated colonial syllabus. The English language was no longer the key to "being civilized" but, as in most developing countries, to economic development through knowledge accessible most easily through English. Effective communication in English became more important than just learning English as a school subject. Communicative competence for a Papua New Guinean needed a more precise definition in view of the changed political, social and academic developments. Earlier syllabi presumed teaching by native speaker teachers and, therefore, left a lot to the intuition and initiative of the native speaker. By 1980, however, more that three quarters of the high school English teachers were nationals, recently graduated and comparatively inexperienced.

Quite a few were actually trained to teach other subjects but ended up teaching English, just as English teachers ended up teaching other subjects. These teachers were fluent but their English was not totally error free and, therefore, they were "in fact much more credible as models of communicative competence than as models of linguistic competence" (Barnett n.d.: 2). Most of them would face difficulties in handling a syllabus that presumed excellent linguistic competence. The syllabus, therefore, needed considerable reorientation in approach, content and scope. Among other things, it had to be more comprehensive to include not merely items to be taught, but also details of language components involved, presentation techniques, models and guidelines of methods and activities, integrating the various skills components as well. In 1975, the Department of Education commissioned one Mrs. Jenny Barnett to restructure the secondary syllabus and the functional syllabus is the result of Mrs. Barnett's efforts.

What then is the rationale for a functional-notional approach? In a situation like in Papua New Guinea, the learner needs English not so much as a code for *saying* things, but more as a means of *doing* things. On the one hand, a Papua New Guinean needs to develop the necessary English language uses that would enable him to act and react in events and situations inaccessible and impossible through his L1. On the other hand, apart from being a means of social and professional interaction, English is also the language of all formal education and hence the only language of the intellectual make up of a Papua New Guinean. Although technically a second language, Papua New Guinean students need English for most of their intellectual and mental activities almost like native speaking students. The English language they learn should produce at least restricted communicative competence and unrestricted intellectual activity. In such a situation, the language needs and terminal competence are, therefore, more clearly identifiable in terms of functional-notional categories than in terms of sets of language structures. The nature, range and sophistication of the set of linguistic tools they would need would depend upon what they want to do with the tools. Thus, academically and pedagogically, it is more efficient and economical to set functional objectives for the learners, language competence and to describe the skills of effective language behavior based on functional units of speech. The teaching is then oriented towards effective spoken and written communication through the realization of these language uses. This way, for the students, language learning becomes purposeful behavior in real or potentially real situations, a meaningful mental activity and social behavior that they find relevent and motivating.

The basic unit of the syllabus, as stated earlier, is language use. Although the language use is defined basically as a category of communicative purpose, it is supposed to include notional categories of conceptual and referential meanings. In the syllabus these notional meanings are called *concepts*. The term language use fuses together the notion-function dichotomy and provides an integrated module of study. The central taxonomy divides language uses into three general categories – enquiring, informing and control, reminiscent of Austin's (1962) locution, illocution and perlocution.

The layout of the syllabus follows a pattern. The entire syllabus of grades 7 through 10 is divided into units or topics of language uses. Each language use is then described in terms of its communicative purpose and concepts involved. Whenever possible, language uses are linked with the subject areas where they are used or needed frequently. The most typical forms in which the use is realized are then either listed or shown in a model. The topic is then broken down into specific classroom objectives. These objectives are carefully graded from passive identification through discrimination to active production, incorporating also the necessary reading and writing skills. The formal language features of a function, what VanEk (1975) calls "exponents", are called ***signals*** in this syllabus.

There is no teaching of language structures per se, and structures are, when necessary, taught only as the signals or means of realization of language uses. The eventual plan is to organize the entire syllabus in a very comprehensive way for each of the four years, grades 7 through 10. Each grade will have a book listing the items of language uses, concepts, signals and objectives; a students' book that contain graded learning materials for each topic; and a teacher's guide with elaborate, detailed, step by step guidance for the teacher, corresponding to each piece of material and activity in the students' book. The teachers' book will also contain details of the distribution of available contact hours over the various activities. This is very necessary, at least initially, until the teachers get used to the new approach and are able to take off on their own.

The syllabus is based on a tentative needs analysis of the various communicative and intellectual needs of somewhat idealized Papua New Guinean school leaver. A study was made of the classroom situations, all subject syllabuses and teachers guides, school social interaction and school learners' activities. Most channels and areas of communicative and academic needs were taken into account and concerned people were consulted. A number of objective criteria were used for selection of language uses. These were:

1) the frequency of the need,
2) the immediacy of the need,
3) the role played by one language use within another – e.g. identifying differences within describing change, and
4) relevence to concepts being introduced or emphasized across the curriculum, e.g. evidence, comparison, cause and effect, etc.

Various criteria were used for grading:

1) The complexity of thought involved in a language use – e.g. describing the outward appearance of a concrete object is less complex than describing abstract qualities like desirability.
2) the grammatical complexity of signals involved,
3) need for variety in types of language use – i.e. interspersing informing, enquiring and control uses,
4) a spiralling development of expression over four years for the most complex and frequently called for language uses, and
5) relevence to the time for the year – e.g. settling in or preparing to leave (personal communication from Jenny Barnett, Department of Education Archives, Papua New Guinea).

What began in 1976 is still far from complete. Several political, bureaucratic and academic factors have bedeviled its promotion, completion and implementation. Mrs. Barnett, an Australian who devised and initiated the syllabus, could not carry through the project for various administrative and personal reasons and soon went back to Australia. Technically, the promotion and implementation for the syllabus is in the hands of the senior curriculum officer for English, who is responsible to the secretary of education through the chief curriculum officer. The English curriculum officer is also technically to be assisted and counseled by the curriculum advisory committee, comprised of representatives from the university faculty of education and teachers college, selected secondary school headmasters and senior subject masters. In actual practice, the curriculum officer finds himself in the role of a frustrated and overworked pooh bah, trying to do the work of administrator, coordinator, trouble shooter, examination setter, course writer and materials producer. The syllabus advisory committee has little or no representation from interested and knowledgeable Papua New Guineans, teachers, or academics. A ridiculously anomalous situation exists where a syllabus expressly meant for the specific situation of Papua New Guinea is discussed without any participation from the concerned nationals! The large turnover of expatriate experts involved does not help continuity or stability of perspective either. The needs of the nationals are deemed to be those assumed by expatriates!

The implications and repercussions of the syllabus have been interesting. The university's teacher training college graduates enough teachers every year, in spite of the attrition rate, to meet most of the country's teacher needs. But owing to inefficient bureaucratic processes of teacher allocation, schools do not get the teachers for the subjects they ask for and teachers do not end up teaching the subjects in which they were trained. In most schools the headmaster and senior subject master for English are native English speakers. In the case of English, quite often the expatriate's main qualification and asset may be that he or she is a native speaker who has some teaching experience not necessarily related to a similar situation and who is seldom experienced in handling a functional syllabus. On the other hand, trained Papua New Guinean teachers are a little more confident in handling the syllabus but lack the linguistic competence of their native speaking colleagues. Ideally this should result in positive symbiosis, but in practice, rarely. Because of the novelty of this pioneering approach, there is a lot of distrust generated, some of which may be well-founded. The experienced teachers who are used to the trusted and tried traditional approaches are reluctant to give it up in favor of something untried. There is also a general hostility to the principles of the functional approach, which many people view as impractical and unworkable. Those teachers that are uninitiated into the functional approach feel intimidated by the animal they cannot cope with nor understand. Even those who are not intimidated by it are suspicious of it, and complain that language teaching has been replaced by "languaging", that is, mere preoccupation with language activities devoid of any theoretical foundations.

Most teachers are not put out so much by the new syllabus as by its state. Seven years after its introduction it is still incomplete and tentative. The teachers have very little to go by except the bare topics listed. Because of the unique nature of the syllabus, commercial support material like textbooks or workbooks are not available and inexperienced teachers with inadequate language competence are livid with frustration. For some time to come, at least, teachers would need to be virtually led by the hand through the syllabus. Administrative support and financing for the necessary supporting staff of course writers were painfully lacking. This means that the survival of the syllabus may depend upon a very speedy completion of the students books and teachers guides. By 1983, only grade 7 requirements had been fully met. This totally non-academic matter may, ironically, turn out to be the cause of the eventual failure of the syllabus before it may even have a chance.

There have been some implications on teacher training too. Since most of the trainees that are trained in the Teachers College are ex grade 10, and are not linguistically sophisticated enough to completely understand the theoretical principles of the functional approach in a three-year training period, lecturers often have to adopt a piecemeal approach. The piecemeal approach results in the trainees' viewing the syllabus as disconnected pieces of functional isolates and not as an integrated whole. This, of course, is not a fault of the syllabus but of the training program and already plans to increase the training period are under way. But as long as the syllabus itself is patchy – which it is now – the trainees will not be able to develop any perspective. The uncertain syllabus situation results in different schools adapting the syllabus in different ways or sometimes not adopting it at all, and this makes practice teaching very difficult for the trainees. However even this situation is improving as the present generation of teacher trainees are those who have themselves been taught English with the functional syllabus, and, therefore, can relate to it much better. One interesting implication on teacher training is the trainee's linguistic competence. A functional syllabus produces a good communicator but certainly a poor language teacher. The new functionally taught teacher trainees have very little notion of grammatical categories, terminology, elements of sentence structure, processes in grammar etc. I found it very difficult to train them how to classify, name, evaluate and remedy the errors of their students, more so when the errors were syntactic or grammatical. Therefore a sizeable grammar component had to be built into the teacher training program. Another real problem was the intrinsic pedagogic difficulty involved in meaningfully handling a functional syllabus. Even an experienced native speaker teacher often found his/her linguistic and pedagogic resources stretched to come up with suitable teaching materials and strategies. A non-native speaker with limited linguistic competence would find it even more difficult. Hence, the teacher training program has to put in a lot of effort and time to extend the trainee's language competence and create in him/her adequate self-confidence for intuitive judgments.

It would be very rewarding to see the outcome of this unique experiment. As the first one of its type in the whole world of ESL, the outcome of this could have a great bearing on the application of the functional-notional approach to the teaching of language. While the failure of the experiment need not necessarily invalidate the approach, the success of the experiment will certainly provide a validation for an exclusively functional-notional approach to ESL teaching.

Epilogue

The epilogue is rather depressing. This pioneering effort had been assailed by conservative headmasters, unsympathetic school inspectors, insecure teachers and many others in one form or the other since inception. Most of the criticism has been nothing more than elegies to the death of the structure and were voiced by the structure addicts, who could not envisage language teaching without pattern drilling and who wanted to believe that if they closed their eyes and cried wolf long enough, the functional monster that threatened them would go away and the good old days of happy and lazy structure drills, textbooks, comprehensions, dictations and grammar would come back. Then, instead of all these difficult classroom exercises like group activities, role play and simulation, the teacher can hide behind the cosy comfort of text-based teaching. But somehow the syllabus had held its ground. The latest information from the crestfallen curriculum officer is that the syllabus has been shelved in favor of a commercial textbook series! The author has agreed to adaptation of the book and while this is happening, for the next five years or so the schools will dovetail old and new materials.

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APPENDIX

Sample Units From The Syllabus

grade 7:
Naming
Instructions
Describing where it is
Making requests
Guessing

grade 8
Identifying changes
Making changes
Describing processes
Drawing conclusions
Obligations.

grade 9	*grade 10*
Fact finding	Drawing conclusions
Making decisions	Thinking and planning
Explanations	Out of school English

MAKING REQUESTS

Requests involve asking politely for something. We often make requests for goods for permission, and for service.

Model

May I have a new exercise book, please?
No, I'm afraid we've run out. Could you please try later?

Signals: Modals, verb inversion, please.

OBJECTIVES

a. Students should UNDERSTAND and AGREE to requests for goods
b. Students should MAKE requests for permission and REFUSE them politely with reasons for refusal.
c. Students should MAKE requests for service and ANSWER them.

BEYOND LOZANOV: PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE INTENSIVE METHOD IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

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In 1971, following the first international conference of the Suggestology Research Center held in Sofia, Bulgaria, Georgij Lozanov (1978) outlined the method and results of a one-month course of foreign-language instruction which he had designed and conducted at the State University in Sofia. A synopsis of his results reads as follows:

> In a course of suggestopaedic instruction, lasting 24 days, with four one-hour lessons given each day, and no outside work or study of the material assigned, the following results are obtained as a standard:
>
> 1. assimilation of more than 90% of the 2000 lexical items included in the course;
> 2. of this lexicon, over 60% is used actively and fluently in everyday conversation with the remaining vocabulary active at the translation level;
> 3. the students speak within the framework of the whole essential grammar;
> 4. any text can be read with the aid of a dictionary;
> 5. the students can write, although some mistakes are made;
> 6. the students make some mistakes in speaking, but communication is not impeded;
> 7. pronunciation is satisfactory with rare phonemic mistakes;
> 8. students are eager to speak with native speakers of the language studied;
> 9. students are eager to pursue further study of the language.

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Based on such claims, Lozanov and his method became the central focus of discussions of language-teaching methodology, and much attention was drawn to the study and implementation of the Lozanov method in foreign-language classrooms everywhere. Indeed, the very notion that a foreign language could be mastered in the course of a few weeks rather than several years charged the 1971 Sofia conference and the publications which followed with a unique quality of sensationalism.

Professor Lozanov, a psychologist by training, actually became interested in the science of mind liberation and control in the 1960's while researching techniques of hypnosis and the religious yogis and gurus of Eastern cultures. Much scholarly attention – particularly in the Eastern bloc countries – was given at that time to the "book-people" who could recite by memory several-thousand-word passages from various religious texts after only one reading. Lozanov and several of his colleagues in other Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union believed that the application of certain mind liberation and suggestion techniques employed by some Eastern religions could be modified and adapted to a more universal application in teaching in general and to foreign-language teaching in specific. Thus, in 1966, he and other scientists and pedagogues formed the Suggestology Research Center in Sofia to research and experiment with just such possibilities. The Center asked for the cooperation and collaboration of other countries, appealing particularly to the West, where ongoing neurolinguistic research seemed to offer a valuable physiological link with the psychological tenets of suggestopaedia. Countries such as the United States, Canada, Sweden, and France participated in the exchange of data with the Eastern Bloc countries. The climax of this cooperation came in 1975 at the Los Angeles-Washington, D.C. conferences on suggestopaedic instruction at which major neurolinguistic findings in the United States gave much support to the methodological theories of Eastern Europe and much of this methodological material of the Eastern Bloc was made available to the West for the first time in translation.

The contributions of the United States at this conference centered on the neurolinguistic works of such researchers as Eric Lenneberg (1967) and Stephen Krashen (1972, 1975), who demonstrated the importance of cerebral lateralization in child and adult language acquisition. Briefly stated, this research centers around the physiological changes which take place in the brain between birth and puberty. The most important of these changes is lateralization, or division of the brain into two separate hemispheres which process information in two inherently different ways.

In children, various stimuli are processed and recorded equally well by both hemispheres of the brain, with some of the processing of first language occurring in a holistic, or natural mode, and other information being processed analytically; however, because both right and left hemispheres of the brain process simultaneously, there is often no correlation between what *should* be analytically processed material – such as lexicon and syntax, and what *should* be processed holistically – such as phonetics and speech etiquette. Then, sometime between the ages of two and twelve years, a sharp physiologically-based change occurs in the brain which allocates specific processing tasks to each hemisphere. (The arguments concerning the age at which cerebral lateralization occurs are many and varied. The central issue in these arguments centers on a notion of what Lenneberg calls a "critical period" for first-language acquisition, which establishes cerebral lateralization at puberty. While this point is well-argued, Krashen presents a counter case for much earlier completion of lateralization. (For specifics of these arguments, see Lenneberg 1967, Krashen 1975, and Fromkin et al. 1974). By means of the corpus callosum, a nerve bundle between the right and left hemispheres of the brain, stimuli are processed either holistically in the right hemisphere or analytically in the left. Since the principal language-processing areas in an adult – Broca's and Wernicke's areas – are both located in the left hemisphere of the brain, the assumption was that adults must process language analytically and, therefore, an analytical approach to language learning must be the most effective. Dichotic listening tests of linguistic material bore out this hypothesis to a large degree. Simply stated, the dichotic listening test involves the simultaneous presentation of pairs of different linguistic units – such as phonemes, syllables, or words – to each ear. For example, the participant might hear a series of three monosyllabic words (such as "house," "blue," and "run") in his right ear, while simultaneously hearing three different monosyllabic words ("book," "wall," and "big," for instance) in his left ear. The participant is then asked for immediate recall of these items. When faced with simultaneously produced linguistic stimuli to both ears, the vast majority of adults recall the information presented to the right ear with much greater ease and accuracy. (For an extensively researched and documented presentation of dichotic listening experiments and their results in terms of language learning, see F.W. Carroll 1978). The right ear is, of course, directly "connected" to the left hemisphere language-processing facilities. Stimuli presented to the left ear would also reach the left hemisphere language center, but only after being re-routed through the corpus callosum from the right to the left hemisphere. The overwhelming right-ear dominance of adult language learners posed a serious theoretical threat to the proponents of audio-lingual and audio-visual methods, which try to simulate closely a first-language acquisition environment for adult language learners, since dichotic listening tasks demonstrated a strong analytical dominance in the participants.

However, while many neurolinguists were quick to agree with the advocation of a more cognitive structurally-based language course, colleagues of Lozanov viewed the neurolinguistic data as striking evidence in support of the suggestopaedic methodology. His supporters contended that first language acquisition proceeds so effectively and efficiently because both hemispheres work in tandem, without the competition which occurs after cerebral lateralization. Rather than develop a methodology which caters to the analytic mode – even if that should prove to be more effective and efficient than directing language information to the holistic mode – wouldn't the *most* effective methodology incorporate the processing of *both* hemispheres simultaneously? That is, the holistic mode of the brain could somehow be actively engaged during the highly analytic process of language learning for adults. On this note, the American-based conference on the suggestopaedic method ended in 1975, leaving Western methodologists in particular optimistic and eager to experiment with the Lozanov method in their classrooms. But, ironically, it was in 1975 that both the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, who had been extensively testing the Lozanov method in foreign language classes for the last five years, began finding unilateral fault with the method and began disbanding suggestopaedic programs nearly as quickly as they were created in 1971. While Americans were only beginning to read the newly-translated literature of the past five years, the Eastern European scholars were already critically reevaluating the Lozanov method. The problems with the method began to be detected in a systematic and, in retrospect, quite predictable order. In his own synthesis of the results of the first suggestopaedia classes in 1971, Lozanov himself alluded to the mistakes made in both written and spoken language. It later became apparent that the vast majority of these mistakes were grammatically-based and very difficult to correct within the framework of the Lozanov method which shuns direct and pragmatic grammatical explanations. Also, and perhaps more serious, the rate of language loss for students who did not continue language study closely paralleled the accelerated acquisition rate. While a student who had had one year of systematic instruction in a foreign language might retain a quarter of the material after a year, the Lozanov pupil would retain little or no material. Again, lack of any solid grammatical base seemed to be responsible for this serious shortcoming of the suggestopaedic method.

Fortunately, while many pedagogues simply shunned the method as a failure and disregarded it completely as a viable language-learning approach, several methodologists at Moscow State University saw the neuro- and psycholinguistic bases in the method – particularly in the realm of developing oral skills – and felt it needed serious reworking, but certainly not abandonment. Galina Kitajgorodskaja, a foreign-language specialist at Moscow State University, began researching and developing a method which would incorporate both the positive psychological qualities and intensive nature of the Lozanov method and the structural grammatical information of cognitive code methods. She and her Soviet and East European colleagues dubbed this compromise method the "Intensive Method" (*intensivnyj metod*) and began working on teaching materials for a university-level French class at Moscow State University.

These materials have been in use in Moscow and other Soviet bloc countries for the last five years, and the results have been quite promising, if not excellent, even in comparison to Lozanov's own impressive results in 1971. This Intensive Method maintains and reinforces three essential tenets of Lozanov's earlier suggestopaedic method: (1) the methods of stimulation and activization of the material, (2) the use of ritual, and (3) the organization of a micro-climate within the group. Each of these three factors, of course, incorporates even more specific parallels with the Lozanov method, which are discussed below. The most radical departures from the Lozanov method which are essential to the Intensive Method are: (1) an assumed basic familiarity with the foreign language from the point of view of grammar, a course of preparation which might resemble a university-level reading course, and (2) grammatical/syntactic reinforcements throughout the course. The primary goals of the current Intensive Method, as the title suggests, are to teach active conversational skills in the foreign language within the realm of selected thematics and to quickly and effectively develop the learner's broader skills of speaking and listening.

Currently, the Intensive French course is in active use at the University in Moscow, an intensive Russian course for foreigners (the most complete package of Intensive Method materials currently available in the West, comprising texts and recordings for the student, film and audio supplements to the lessons, and a detailed teacher's guide to the lessons and the method) was prepared in 1980 for use at the Pushkin Institute for the Study of Russian in Moscow and an intensive English course is being designed, also for use at the university level. Unfortunately these English-language materials are still being prepared and tested and will not be available in printed form until 1985.

As the organization of a micro-climate in the group using the Intensive Method is essential to its success, the classroom itself, class structure, and inherent organization of the first three days of class are of utmost importance. To begin with, the classroom itself must facilitate the functioning of the Intensive Method along the lines of suggestopaedia. The atmosphere of the classroom does, by its nature, remain somewhat official, but should be as free as possible from any typically "classroom" associations. For example, since the goals of the Intensive Method involve primarily the development of oral and listening skills, desks or tables in the classroom are superfluous since writing is not an active component of the class. The chairs for both students and instructor should be full and comfortable as participants in the program may have to sit for relatively long periods. They are arranged in a semi-circle with the instructor seated front and center, although at least half of his/her time will be spent moving about the room. Next to the instructor's chair is a control panel from which taped exercises, music, visual aid materials and room lighting can be easily and unobtrusively controlled. The addition of non-essential furniture items such as rugs, pictures, and ornamental items is recommended to further emphasize the non-standard classroom setting.

Once the classroom has been prepared, the organization of the first lesson begins. The key first three days provide the psychological and structural basis on which the remainder of the course is built—namely, the complete avoidance of any stressful or outwardly embarrassing situations for the students during the course of instruction. Therefore, the first three days of class are entirely oral, without any written texts for the students. This procedure is designed to accustom the student to the unique operation of the Intensive Method to build quickly and effectively solid oral skills in the foreign language without sacrificing essential grammatical reinforcements. The entire twenty-four day course is built on a three-day lesson plan cycle.

First Day of Class

As with any methodology, the first day of class is instrumental in establishing the tone and, to an enormous extent, determining the success of the course as a whole. Student/teacher relationships are established; group dynamics are formulated, and in general the class settles into a regime early on the first day. However, as in the Lozanov method, the Intensive Method demands that even more attention be paid to the first day of class, as the atmosphere established on Day One is crucial to the ultimate effectiveness of the psychological bases of the various material presentations and exercises. This requires extremely careful preparation on the part of the teacher, who must even promote a healthy outward appearance that reflects his positive attitude (if not actual allegiance) to these lessons and the method. (For effective implementation of the suggestopaedic techniques which are at the basis of the Intensive Method, this point must not be taken lightly. For a more detailed discussion of instructor's prestige, see Lozanov 1978: 334.) Everything about the teacher must reflect this positivism, from the clothes he wears to the tone of voice with which he first addresses the class. Each intensive class consists of eleven students and one instructor. Before the first class session, each student takes a brief short-answer test to determine his basic level in the foreign language; based on this evaluation, students are grouped according to proficiency. The students then meet with their instructor to discuss the format and goals of the course. In many ways the *absence* of a typical classroom setting or learning situation may be more of a shock than its presence; therefore, some explanation of the methodology is necessary to facilitate a positive class mood on the first day.

Each of the eight lessons of an Intensive course is thematic, lasting for three days. The theme of the first lesson is "Getting Acquainted." From the first meeting on the first day the instructor primarily uses the foreign language in the classroom, depending upon the language level of the students. All translation into the native language is provided in parallel format by means of recorded lessons or in the form of written texts which the students receive after the initial three-day cycle. The instructor begins the first presentation of the new material with simple imperative commands: "Listen," "Listen and repeat," etc. He then turns on audio equipment which has been set up in advance, and plays a recording of the first text. The students then simply listen to the text and a simultaneous literal translation without any visual referent such as a printed text or – at this first meeting – video source. (Visual support is added in later lessons as discussed below). This reading and translation lasts approximately thirty minutes. During this time the instructor studies the students carefully, in order to assign character roles which will become the students' alter-egos for the duration of the Intensive course. Although, of course, it is not essential to match physical characteristics closely, a general correspondence of age and sex of the students to those of the characters in the texts is beneficial. At the end of the first presentation of the material, the instructor announces a five-minute break during which the instructor tags the students' chairs with character names. When the students return to the classroom, the instructor seats the students in the new order, and begins the ritual of addressing them by their character names and never again by their real names.

The second presentation of the material and the creation of the micro-climate in the group. The instructor takes over as the active component in the group and allows the students to participate passively, encouraging holistic processing of various linguistic elements in the presentation. The instructor introduces himself in the foreign language using the same dialogue formulas from the initial recorded presentation of the material. He then stands next to the first student in the semi-circle and addresses him individually, establishing direct eye-contact and asks him what his name is. If the student begins to answer, the leader quickly gestures for silence. He then stands behind the student's chair and answers for the student, in a voice slightly different from his own, again using material from the earlier recorded text. The instructor then faces the student and asks for further biographical information from the text: "And where do you work?" He once more moves behind the student's chair and answers for the student. In this way, the instructor works through the entire text, playing the roles of all eleven students while maintaining slight characterization variations and different gestures for each. Like the first presentation of this material, the second takes about thirty minutes. It is important that the students understand to whom each statement is directed during this second presentation of the text material.

In each lesson a thematically-related song is incorporated into the text material. Since the students will tend to be especially shy or reserved on the first day, it is important that the instructor really perform on the first day when the time for the text song arrives, even if that means a well-intentioned solo performance. Following the song, the instructor then finishes with the phrase "Well, now we know each other." A ten minute break follows, during which the instructor places cards with the name, address, age, and profession of each of the students on their chair, which they will then wear throughout the course of instruction. At the end of the break the instructor performs a fast-paced listen-and-repeat reiteration of key phrases in the text materials; during the theme topic of personal introductions, each student is presented to the entire class and the class repeats together these introductions. Significantly, this is actually the first time the students have had to speak, and it is as a group, not individually, again reinforcing the absence of stressful situations in the classroom. The object is to immerse the students in the oral mode slowly so that listening and speaking in the foreign language begins to come naturally.

Physical activity is essential to fight off the fatigue which naturally accompanies four hours of class time. Therefore, dance and/or calisthenics is a regular part of every daily lesson. On the first day, dancing follows the ten-minute repetition drill. The leader dances along, becoming an extension of the group – a member rather than an outsider. This activity lasts about five minutes and is followed by the final singing of the lesson song. This time, however, the song is performed with specific gestures by the instructor which act to reinforce certain stressed or enunciated syllables, or particular intonational contours. Once the gestures have been established for any given song, they should be repeated identically with each performance of that song in future lessons.

The first day continues with an intonational reading of the text. This activity is an extremely important component of the holistic processing of the material and can be performed in two ways. In the first method, a whispered translation in the native language precedes the recitation of each phrase from the text to be intoned. Such a technique is especially helpful for lower level groups which are only minimally prepared for immersion work in the foreign language. For example, "[whisper] Hello, my name is Lisa. My last name is Choate. I am the group leader." Then, the same material is repeated in the foreign language three times, once at a whisper, once normally, and once at a near shout. The second method is conducted in the same manner, only without the whispered translation. In both cases the students are asked to repeat silently the last phrase uttered by the instructor during the pause between intoned phrases. The intonational reading lasts thirty minutes and is followed by a ten minute break. After the break the final series of exercises or "cool-down" begins. These are yoga-style relaxing/liberating exercises rather than physically exerting ones and are designed to relieve any tension or fatigue so that the students will be completely receptive for the final phase of the first day which emphasizes the suggestive quotient of this method.

The final activity is the concert session. After the relaxing exercises, the students are instructed to sit in their chairs as comfortably as possible, to let themselves feel relaxed and unrestricted. The teacher sits as well and the concert session begins. Classical music that is slow and relaxing is suggested for these sessions. (Lozanov and fellow-researcher E. Gateva conducted extensive research in selecting pieces of music which are especially well-suited for the concert phase of suggestopaedic foreign-language instruction. See Lozanov 1978:

270-271 for a detailed list of recommendations.) After about ten minutes of relaxation, the instructor lowers the volume and begins to read the text lesson in the foreign language while the concert continues. Here, as in the intonational reading, a whisper translation may be used. The reading in the foreign language should correspond in tonality and emotional pitch to the music so that they do not detract from each other. The psychological basis here, of course, is to merge the holistic processing of the music with the analytic processing of the lexicon and syntax of the sentences of the text in an inobtrusive and, hopefully, natural way. After the last reading of the text, the classical music fades out, and brighter livelier music (perhaps baroque) replaces the more relaxing classical music. The volume increases, the lights in the classroom come up, and the class is dismissed without any homework assigned.

Second Day of Class

The primary goal of the second day of class is to reinforce and activize the material of the first lesson. The first step to this end is yet another reading of the text, but on an extremely emotional level – even for a simple text such as getting acquainted – using many gestures and changes in voice tone. The instructor should now check to see how well he did in assigning roles to the students. Any dissatisfaction or unhappiness can be detected during this reading session. A last minute change of roles is still possible at this time. The reading of the text is followed by two or three minutes of dancing accompanied by the simultaneous repetition of a few key phrases from the text repeated in chorus during the dance.

Following the dance, the leader hands out small pocket mirrors to the students. This phase in the Intensive language training is an articulatory exercise and the small mirrors are essential equipment. Since phonetic and pronunciation training is inherent in the Intensive Method, the articulatory exercise provides two benefits: (1) better facilitation of pronunciation by imitation of new foreign sounds, and (2) the universal release from embarrassment which often accompanies phonetic exercises, since everyone – including the instructor – performs the exercises together. Specific exercises include extending the tongue as far out and down as possible, exaggerated lip rounding followed by exaggerated smiling, etc.

The articulatory exercises prepare the students for the next phase of work: oral production of the text. This phase of training is an extremely demanding and sometimes exhausting form of work for both students and leader and must be closely monitored by the instructor so as not to exhaust all participants too early in the session. This will be the first time the students actually speak individually, following a listen-and-repeat pattern. The instructor must vary his presentation dramatically, from group to individual repetition, from whispered to half-yelled tone of voice, from individual words to entire phrases, from emotionless utterances to highly charged intonational contours. Depending upon the text, this exercise will last from forty-five to ninety minutes. The students much be watched carefully; on the slightest sign of fatigue, a dance or exercise session should be started. In any case a series of physical calisthenics should follow the oral presentation session.

After a short break, lexical and grammatical reinforcement of the text material begins. Here, the students will still rely on the fixed phrases from the text, but they will be asked to respond to out-of-context stimuli which will demand particular textual information. This form of work, which is unique to the Intensive Method of suggestopaedic learning, can take many forms. For example:

(1) A check of grammatical forms using visual aids; i.e. a picture of one of the text characters is shown and text-related questions based on that character are asked.
(2) A check on content of the text in the form of questions and answers. The instructor must remember to avoid stressful situations, so as soon as there is a sign that a student does not know how to respond, the instructor should answer and have the student repeat.
(3) Micro-dialogues or micro-situations from the text.
(4) Games based on micro-situations from the text.

After the lexical and grammatical reinforcement, a song session finishes the day. The second day ends with an optional assignment to listen to a recording of the text at home.

Third Day of Class

The third day brings the full cycle of the first lesson to a close. On each third day, the student participation is at its highest level, again demonstrating the move from purely holistic processing of the material as on the first day, to a mix on the second day, and finally to highly analytic and cognitive on the third day. During this class session, the students are asked to activize through usage the lexicon, syntax, phonetics, and semantic ranges which they have been studying through the text. This is accomplished through a variety of exercises. First, the students are asked actually to perform the text themselves in their own roles, addressing one another as actual persons, completing the interaction which earlier had been achieved only in dialogues. Immediately afterwards, the leader then instigates smaller question and answer dialogue situations with each student, reinforcing both the students' characters and the text material. These activities are in preparation for the most important part of the third day regime, which is an area in which the Lozanov method fell short: adaption of the theme replicas *outside* the framework of the text. The students are asked to "play" with their characters, putting them in different situations of meeting and greeting one another – in accordance with the theme of the first lesson. But in addition, they are to develop and reinforce their grammatical knowledge of the language by changing the tense, person, place, etc. in the otherwise familiar textual situations. The main role of the instructor here is to provide appropriate correction, which should take the form of restatement of the misused form correctly, or the asking of a question which includes the correct form in its own structure. In either case, the student should repeat the form correctly. Breaks should be taken during this period as necessary. Following this intensive work by the students, the instructor once again becomes more actively involved, this time in the form of devil's advocate, throwing small wrenches into the very set patterns of the dialogues that the students have mastered, for example: changing names, confusing addresses, mistaking identities, etc. This exercise checks the students' comprehension and forces them to master completely the text by correcting false information. A series of calisthenics, dance and song concludes the third day and completes a lesson.

The beginning of the fourth day signals the beginning of a new lesson, theme, and text. In the case of the initial lesson only, the fourth day also signals the distribution to the students for the first time of any kind of written text. On the first fourth day, the text to themes one and two are given out, with a new text issued each fourth day thereafter. The texts are in the form of small newspapers or booklets designed in a fashion that complements the entire Intensive Method. The text is bilingual with dual-columned translations and is supplemented with visual aids such as maps, photos, and short scenarios from the text. In addition, there are short grammar sections which are incorporated as part of the text, and not as separate assignments, as well as phonetic information presented in a mnemonic fashion, paralleling the work with songs and gestures. Beginning with week two, the texts are used together with the recorded materials whenever the student wishes to work outside of class on the text. They are not used during the various textual presentations in class. The three day cycle will repeat itself eight times in twenty-four days covering eight themes, situations, and texts.

Currently, the results over the last five years of using the Intensive French and three years of using Intensive Russian courses in the Soviet Union have been extremely encouraging. Students enter the course with a minimal knowledge of the target language grammar and leave the one-month intensive course able to converse quite freely in the language and with listening comprehension at a level which allows them to take regular courses given in that language at the university level. As with suggestopaedia, the enthusiasm and desire to continue studying the language are prevalent and there is a deep genuine desire to keep in contact with the other persons in the study group. The inclusion of grammatical and phonetic materials, and language training outside the scope of the textual dialogues seems to have intercepted the problem of the Lozanov method in terms of short-term retention of the foreign language material.

All in all, the Intensive Method seems to incorporate effective and efficient practical applications of Lozanov's suggestopaedic principles, Problems, of course, still exist. First, and most significant, is the incredibly high demand—physically, emotionally, and intellectually—on the teacher of the Intensive Method. The teachers themselves must be extensively trained before they are ready to conduct class on their own. In addition to having step-by-step lesson plans for each class, they must be ready at any time to alter the course at any one part during any one class—all the while remaining within the scope of the psychological and methodological tenets of the Intensive Method. For this reason, courses using the Intensive Method have been supplied with copiously detailed teachers' guides which meticulously outline every detail of the three-day cycles. Second, another problem—particularly in the Soviet Union—involves the technical base needed to run the program smoothly. Special classrooms, furnishings, stereo and video equipment, lighting, all with remote control are essential—and costly.

But for American foreign language teachers larger philosophical questions remain to be answered: Is the Intensive Method suitable for American classrooms, or more accurately, for American students? Would such a method be regarded only as a kind of mind-control with no place within the educational system? For the Soviets, the method is acceptable, since teaching methods and moral/ethical concerns for students rarely overlap. Here in the United States, however, a point of contention with early educational experiments using suggestopaedia involved precisely this question. Many proponents of the Lozanov method were also proponents of positive mind control and group dynamics movements which were popular throughout the 1970's. Suggestopaedic societies were organized during this time in the U.S. which together with other organizations touted the benefits of "super-learning" and the attainment of one's maximum learning potential. As a result, hastily established and poorly staffed and managed programs frequently mis-used or mis-represented the Lozanov method both in theoretical and practical frameworks.

The unfortunate possiblitiy of similar misuse of the Intensive Method in the West certainly exists; still, in the on-going search for improved ways of language learning and teaching, it would be more unfortunate still to ignore the potential for application of the Intensive Method in our classrooms. In essence, any method which is producing viable results deserves our attention and consideration. The Intensive Method certainly fills this qualification.

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PART IV
NEW APPROACHES AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE CLASSROOM

INTRODUCTION

Those of us in TESOL are ultimately concerned with what goes on in the ESL/EFL classroom. No matter what our specialities or level of employment are, we are interested in how students acquire English and how we can facilitate the learning of English in the classroom setting. If we can better understand the acquisition/learning process, we are succeeding. If we can devise new approaches or techniques for use in the classroom that better help our students understand and use English, we are succeeding. If we can devise materials that better reflect the nature of the language and aid our students in gaining mastery of English, we are succeeding. Thus, the bottom line is students: students learning the language and becoming more proficient in it. The papers in this section – while focusing on students of different ages, learning different skills, being taught by different techniques – all share this basic philosophy and represent the numerous papers which dealt with classroom matters at the 1984 TESOL Convention.

We open with Carole Urzúa's views on what children must have in order to be successful in acquiring language. Urzúa believes that we must focus on two areas in the classroom: the physical environment and the human environment. In the physical environment we must make sure that we are providing something worth discussing. In the human environment teachers should function in roles that are similar to the adult caregivers in the child's home life. Urzua outlines various ways that classroom instructors can meet the needs of the two environments. She also reminds us that we must also become advocates for ESL children in the wider school system.

Linda New Levine also focuses on elementary ESL students and how regular classroom teachers can help them in their classrooms. Her specific aim is to suggest ways to involve these students in meaningful classroom activities despite their low reading levels. Levine describes techniques which lead students to acquire higher level thinking skills in the second language and offers the classroom teacher a variety of ways to employ content area instruction to facilitate the second language learning process.

Paula Goodfellow, Keiko Hirokawa, Jane Chisholm and Wendy Gaylord also discuss content area instruction but their particular focus is on university-level students. The authors studied the language use of two non-native English speakers to see if their language use differed from native speakers in doing chemistry laboratory work, writing lab reports and taking lecture notes; how language differences affected the performance on lab reports and in the laboratory itself; and the extent that the beliefs on language capabilities held by limited-English speakers reflected their true performance in the laboratory. The authors end with a description of materials that were created to deal with the language and intercultural difficulties that affect non-native students' work in chemistry courses.

It is said that we are entering a new age, the age of computers. Christine Parkhurst describes how computer assisted language learning can be used for the teaching of composition. She offers five different programs to deal with five areas of composition instruction. The programs are on error corrections for problems that impede meaning, proofreading for problems that hinder meaning, proofreading for grammatical mistakes, verb tense exercises, freer composition exercises which require different forms of meaning and correct use of tense, and freer composition exercises that emphasize the topic and that provide guidance on both content and grammar.

Next, Beatrice S. Mikulecky's article concerns the teaching of reading. She discusses specific reading comprehension skills that aid in the overall reading process. Her goal is to bring students to a conscious awareness of the specific processes involved in reading with the belief that such skill mastery will enable students to acquire the necessary confidence in reading in general. Mikulecky provides us with numerous examples of techniques that serve to illustrate the specific skills that she believes are important and how these skills can be integrated into a total reading program.

We conclude with an article on classroom listening activities for small groups written by Barbara Gonzalez. She presents specific techniques that provide natural listening practice. Her focus is on student to student listening activities and she describes the pedagogical and psychological benefits that derive from this approach. Gonzalez believes that activities of this nature create a more personalized form of classroom instruction.

HOW DO YOU EVALUATE YOUR OWN ELEMENTARY PROGRAM? LOOK TO KIDS*

Carol Urzúa
Lewis and Clark College

You've put enormous energy into collecting materials, getting kids assessed, arguing for an aide. And now your program is off and running. How are you going to be sure you're doing the right things? How can you know when you are in the process of teaching in an elementary program that your program is successful? The answer begins and ends with kids. Kids – the reason why we are teaching and administering at all. Kids – each one a special challenge for us to find the ways in which the mysteries of interacting and conceptualizing in a new language can be unlocked. Kids – dependent on us, the professionals, to make the right decisions to enhance their lives.

Our main task, then, is to understand what it is kids must have to be successful in acquiring language. If those aspects are present in an ESL program in a systematic, well-conceived manner, then the program can be said to be successful. It would be unwise to suggest a definite one-to-one correspondence between where and how a person learns language and that person's proficiency. But it makes good sense to me to pay close attention to cognitive, social, linguistic and physical developmental knowledge of children, and then support those developments through environments which allow growth to take place.

Carole Urzúa, Assitant Professor in graduate education at Lewis and Clark College, authored *Talking Purposefully* and writes and speaks on behalf of kids.

*I am grateful to Jean Handscombe for careful reading of an earlier draft of this paper. This paper is revised from a plenary speech at the Summer TESOL Meeting in Toronto, 1983 which was redelivered in Houston by request from the organizers.

Excerpts from Vivian Gussin Paley, *Wally's Stories*. Copyright ©1981 by Harvard University Press, reprinted by permission of Harvard University Press.

I'd like to look first at what the characteristics of an effective learning environment are, based on data about child second language acquisition, and general knowledge about children.

Physical Environment

One of the first places to look for the appropriateness of an environment for young learners is in the physical appearance of the classroom itself. I remember when I was a supervisor of student teachers being told to teach the new teachers how to make an aesthetically pleasing bulletin board! I confess I was never very successful, mainly because I think bulletin boards should be stuffed with kids' work, messy but readable.

But far more important is whether the environment provides anything worth discussion. Rooms need to be brimming with play areas for dramatic play: table toys and puzzles, books, art and craft supplies, clay, puppets and musical instruments, animals and other materials which will stimulate children to use language in ways which will be meaningful. However, having such concrete materials available does not assure the teacher that language will actually take place. One kindergarten teacher looked into whether the materials were simply available, or whether they required children to interact in order to use them. She found that teachers tend to put objects on tables in a one-to-one correspondence with the chairs, thus preventing any interaction which might take place if children worked on a puzzle together. Thus, the teacher must always think in terms of buddies working together with the materials, – materials which require a partner.

Even more important than materials which invite interaction is what a teacher chooses to do with them. If a program is to be successful, a teacher must make wise choices about the kinds of materials and activities in which children will engage in order to activate their language learning strategies. There are a number of criteria for effective activities; I'd like to suggest four.

First of all, an activity for children must be *real*. The argument for making language learning meaningful has recently led our profession to an understanding of the need for functional/notional syllabi leading towards a broader view of competence which includes communication. Of course, good teachers of young children have for many years tried to make learning meaningful. But what is "real" to kids? Some things seem obvious to us as adults, and it is difficult to understand how it could not be viewed the same by children. Such was the case of Vivian Paley who writes in her extraordinary book, *Wally's Stories* about children's concept of measurement. She says, "I did not realize that rulers are not really real. We were about to act out 'Jack and the Beanstalk' when Wally and Eddie disagreed about the relative size of our two rugs."

Wally:	The big rug is the giant's castle. The small one is Jack's house.
Eddie:	Both rugs are the same.
Wally:	They. can't be the same. Watch me. I'll walk around the rug. No watch. Walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, walk – count these walks. Okay. Now count the other rug. Walk, walk, walk, walk. See? That one has more walks.
Eddie:	No fair you cheated. You walked faster.

Wally: I don't have to walk. I can just look.
Eddie: I can look too. But you have to measure it. You need a ruler. About six hundred inches or feet.
Wally: We have a ruler.
Eddie: Not that one. Not the short kind. You have to use the long kind that gets curled up in a box.
Wally: Use people. People's bodies. Lying down in a row.
Eddie: That's a great idea. I never even thought of that.

Wally announces a try-out for "rug-measurers". He adds one child at a time until both rugs are covered – four children end to end on one rug and three on the other. Everyone is satisfied, and the play continues with Wally as the giant on the rug henceforth known as the four-person rug. The next day Eddie measures the rugs again. He uses himself, Wally, and two other children. But this time they do not cover the rug.

Wally: You're too short. I mean someone is too short. We need Warren. Where's Warren?
Teacher: He's not here to-day.
Eddie: Then we can't measure the rug.
Teacher: You can only measure the rug when Warren is here?
Jill: Because he's longer.
Deana: Turn everyone around. Then it will fit. (Eddie rearranges the measurers so that each is now in a different position. Their total length is the same.)
Eddie: No, it won't work. We have to wait for Warren.
Deana: Let me have a turn. I can do it.
Jill: You're too big, Deana. Look at your feet sticking out. Here's a rule. Nobody bigger than Warren can measure the rug.
Fred: Wait. Just change Ellen and Deana because Ellen is shorter.
Jill: She sticks out just the same. Wait for Warren.
Fred: Now she's longer than before, that's why.
Teacher: Is there a way to measure the rug so that we don't have to worry about people's sizes?
Kenny: Use short people.
Teacher: And if the short people aren't in the school?
Rose: Use big people.
Eddie: Some people are too big.
Teacher: Maybe using people is a problem.
Fred: Use three-year-olds.
Teacher: There aren't any three-year-olds in our class.
Deana: Use rulers. Get all the rulers in the room. I'll get the box of rulers.
Eddie: That was *my* idea, you know.
Deana: This isn't enough rulers.
Eddie: Put a short, short person after the rulers-Andy.
Andy: I'm not short, short. And I'm not playing this game.
Wally: Use the dolls.

Teacher: So this rug is ten rulers and two dolls long? (Silence). Here's something we can do. We can use one of the rulers over again, this way.

Eddie: Now you made *another* empty space.

Teacher: Eddie, you mentioned a tape measure before. I have one here.
(We stretch the tape along the edge of the rug, and I show the children that the rug is 156 inches long. The lesson is done. The next day Warren is back in school.)

Wally: Here's Warren. Now we can really measure the rug.

Teacher: Didn't we really measure the rug with the ruler?

Wally: Well, rulers aren't really real, are they?

(Paley 1981:13-16)

What is real to children, then, may be very different from adult reality, and teachers must choose activities with care and sensitivity. Besides being real, a second criterion for activities for children is that they must have meaning; they must have *purpose*. As M.A.K. Halliday noted:

> The child knows what language is because he knows what language does. The determining elements in the young child's experience are the successful demands on language that he himself has made, the particular needs that have been satisfied by language for him. Language in all of these uses has come within his own direct experience, and because of this, he is subconsciously aware that language has many functions that affect him personally. (1973:10)

What these functions might be is viewed differently by different kid watchers. Halliday, himself, identifies seven "models" of language, ranging from instrumental and regulatory, to interactional, to imaginative.

The implication of this basic notion of purposefulness is that all activities in an ESL program should be for real intentions within children's experiences. Perhaps an example of a meaningful activity will clarify this notion. An experience that I have observed on occasion has to do with the teacher putting a small object in a box, and, through shaking it frequently, quizzing kids about its contents. Children guess, and the teacher is pleased because it appears to be a good vocabulary exercise, and children are talking. But what are they talking about? A guessing game in which the knower (the teacher) knows the answer, but gives no further information to the non-knowers, a situation which rarely occurs in life outside of classrooms. A more effective activity would be a prototype of a kind of experience they may encounter, one in which meaning is inherent in the experience. Here's a more effective practice: the teacher records the guesses of the children on the board, and when the children are tired of guessing, puts the children in pairs. Each pair then goes through the list, classifying them into two groups: a group of objects they think are really possible, and a group they think are impossible to be contained in the box. Taking their possible list, they now rank them, deciding in the process what they really think is in the box. Now, it is true that few children will ever have to convince anyone else of the contents of a box! But involving themselves in a persuasive activity will help them to develop language forms necessary for regulating others' behavior and to be logical in their reasoning, skills that they will use effectively for the rest of their lives. The exact content of the activity, then, may not be something children will have any reason to know about outside of the in-class work. But the kind of situation the content establishes should allow children to use language in ways which will increase their power.

A third criterion for an effective activity in ESL programs is that it must allow for ***individual variation***, variation which takes in learning strategies as well as linguistic differences. H. Douglas Brown (1981) points out in his book *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching* that there are a number of cognitive and affective variables which influence the ways in which learners process linguistic information, as well as the ways they function in social and cognitive situations.

Learners vary, he suggests, in their tolerance for ambiguity as well as their reflectivity and impulsivity; they bring to the learning task differential measures of self-esteem and inhibition; in short, they are motivated by different things.

Further indication of differences specific to children is a study by Lily Wong-Fillmore (1982). Through following 48 Chinese and Mexican American children, she concludes there is no single way to say what a good or a bad learner is. A Mexican American child, whom she calls Sancho, is, by all measures, a better language learner than most of the other children. He is described as a risk-taker who is eager to perform and use opportunities to get peers' and the teacher's attention. On the other hand, a Chinese child, whom she calls Jade, also regarded as one of the better language learners in the study, is described as reflective and analytical, good at listening and eager to achieve academically.

Thus, if we are to have programs in which both the Jades and the Sanchos of our classrooms are going to succeed, we must arrange for activities which can accommodate a wide variety of differences and still remain successful for learners.

I have been experimenting with such activities in some units of curriculum on which I have been working for a couple of years. In one such unit, *Mobiles*, children do some preliminary interviewing, cutting and pasting in order to prepare pictures of their favorite things, inserting string to hang the pictures on dowels to create mobiles. The actual stringing of the pictures, and the balancing of the mobile can be approached in a number of different ways. One four-year-old I observed never spoke a word; working with another partner, she conceived of her strategy, and began moving strings back and forth along the dowel without sharing the strategy at all. The mobile eventually balanced. Some children I have watched put everything on the floor and sit and look at it for a while, moving the pictures on the floor to achieve an aesthetic mix. The actual hanging of the mobile is almost an after-thought. Still other children dash madly to the rope stretched across the room, fling string over the rope, and tie pictures on, pushing and pulling on pictures until the dowel balances. Some children choose to work with several friends; some children want to work alone. Because the activity can be done with no interactive language, even the beginning language learner can have a successful experience. Thus, effective activities in an ESL program provide alternative means to achieve the same goal.

Some educators have suggested that an effective way to approach individual variation is to match the differences noted in learners with various kinds of teaching approaches and environments. David Hunt (1973, 1970) describes various environments which he suggests can accommodate a differential need in learners for structure and guidance by the teacher. Learners who are relatively inflexible and absolute, with lower tolerance for ambiguity, require an environment which contains short, definite goals: a variety of activities, fewer choices, and carefully sequenced, consistent rules. Those learners who have greater tolerance for ambiguity, who enjoy considering several points of view before proceeding, and who profit from wide-ranging discussions and feedback, require an environment where many choices are given. Such students do best when they are allowed to decide how and when their work will be accomplished; mobility is allowed, and individual projects are encouraged. Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil's (1980) important work, *Models of Teaching*, defines various educational approaches which match some of the differences noted by Hunt (1970, 1973). In the *Mobiles* unit, for example, some students previously identified as needing more structure are led by the teacher in a step-by-step process of how the balancing will proceed, while students who need less structure are instructed simply to "make the pictures balance".

A fourth criterion for the selection of successful activities is that it helps children acquire more focused, precise language to facilitate their school experience. Our children are not simply acquiring a second language as an academic exercise; they are in other classrooms competing with native English speakers put in a position daily to use whatever developing proficiency they have to acquire content material *right now*. The activities choosen for the ESL classrooms must, therefore, have subject matter content. Children, perhaps even more than adults, learn language to facilitate accomplishing other things. Uniquely prepared for emersing themselves in the learning experience as a result of their learning stage of concrete operations, children through the fifth grade are relatively uninterested in *analyzing* language. Therefore, the school's emphasis on surface language forms appears to the child to be a very bewildering way of getting at what they want to accomplish: becoming better and better users of language in their social studies and science classes, with their reading teachers, and certainly on the tests which come regularly. Our responsibility is to use the same kind of subject matter they might face in their mainstream classes, and present it in such a way that the concepts are clear, and the language used to talk about the concepts can become increasingly complex.

One such content can be found in science materials. Science materials allow kids to hypothesize, to use suppositions, and to be tentative. Science materials are frequently concrete and manipulative. They allow children to do what they do intuitively: ask questions in order to know. Each learner approaches science content from a unique position and accommodates the knowledge at whatever level is being processed at the time. Although the vocabulary of science is specialized, everyone approaches the vocabulary afresh. And, very importantly, children find it exhilarating to be involved in such experiences as casting shadows (thus applying principles of physical science), or growing plants in different environments, observing and writing about classroom pets, or taking nature hikes (thus applying principles of biological science). When children are excited about the materials, they will find more and more precise ways to talk about their ideas.

Human environment

So far in this paper, I have suggested that the decisions a teacher makes about what to do with the physical environment largely determines how effective for language learning that program is going to be. But even without these aspects, a program can be very successful if the human environment is also effective. The human environment: the kinds of people with whom children come in contact with and the quality of interaction children have with people. Who are these people, and what do they contribute?

The most important person is the teacher. As a linguistically superior adult, the teacher should function in a similar role to the adult caregivers in children's home life. It is increasingly clear in first language acquisition that the quality of interaction between the caregiver and the child is critical to the child's proficiency, and, as Gordon Wells (1981) has convincingly shown, to the child's future acquisition of literacy. Researchers like Catherine Snow (1977) and Toni Cross (1977) have documented that adult input to children needs to have elements of expansion, extension, repetition, and increasingly longer conversational turns to facilitate for growth in children's language. The unique register of caregiver speech is important, then, not because it acts as a model for forms children need to hear and emulate but because it is fine-tuned, sensitive interaction with a learner who is focusing on the maintenance of the social bond.

Children rarely focus on the form of input. Although there certainly are cultural, and indeed, subcultural differences in the character of the interaction between caregivers and children, it is unlikely that any discussion between the two has focused on surface aspects of language. Rather, in most situations, children and caregivers attempt to understand and accommodate the other through what Wells (1981) calls "negotiated interaction". In these facilitative interactions, both the caregiver and the child constantly search for ways of understanding what the other is trying to mean, while the caregiver, in an unconscious way, contributes language which is closely related to the child's preceding communication, and provides the means by which children can enlarge their linguistic resources. In work with L2 children, Urzúa (1981) found that a particularly effective second language human environment includes many of the same aspects as first language adult input, particularly expansions, extensions, and repetitions.

In fact, in one kindergarten class, the input to a second language child frequently was reminiscent of characteristic adult input to first language children. The teacher, Bonnie Shaffer, would say, "Mrs. Shaffer didn't understand you," or "Mrs. Shaffer has on boots," using a noun for a pronoun similar to parents who say, "Let mommy do it".

Another longer interchange between the teacher and the second language learner was also reminiscent of parent-child interaction. For example, one day, the kindergarten child began teasing Bonnie Shaffer about the microphone she was wearing for the video taping.

Child: Hot. (Touches microphone).
Teacher: It's not hot. It's not hot. It's a microphone.
Child: (Takes teacher's hand and places it on microphone). See hot?
Teacher: Cold. It's cold.
Child: See hot?
Teacher: No. It's not hot. It's cold.
Child: Ahm . . . . . hot.
Teacher: No. It's not hot. etc.

(Urzúa 1981:56)

Doesn't that interaction remind you of the kind of "hanging-in-there" strategy utilized by effective mothers, such as one of the mothers in my own research who was talking to her 2-year-old daughter as she played in the bathtub?

(In the bathtub)
Adult: Does a fish swim?
Child: No.
Adult: No?
Child: No. I eat it.
Adult: You gonna eat the fish?
Child: No. All wet.
Adult: It's all wet all right. The whole bathroom is wet.
Child: Whole bathroom wet.
Adult: Yeah. The floor is wet. The towel is wet. The bathtub is wet. The shower curtain is wet. My hair is wet. My knees are wet.
Child: My knees are wet.

(Urzúa 1981:Appendix)

Patient caregivers, and good second language teachers, then, employ the "hanging-in-there" strategy. Besides employing many of the strategies in interacting with children which are known to be effective in first language acquisition, teachers of ESL children should also be consciously aware of their ability to provide vocabulary and relevant surface forms at times when children require them in specific contexts. Children will learn those words and surface forms which code the experience they are having (See Wells 1974). I remember well the child who taught me this concept. I was observing in a preschool in Texas, and the four-year-olds were having a free choice time. One little Mexican American boy was sitting on the floor, manipulating a bunch of plastic animals in and out of a corral and a barn. I plopped down beside him and tried to make conversation. He didn't look up. He took his sheep and waddled it into the barn. I then said to him, "Oh, you're putting the sheep into the barn." There was a slight pause. Then he picked up the cow, and sauntered it toward the barn. "Oh," said I, "You're putting your cow into the barn." Another slight pause. Then a flurry of animals were hurried into the barn, each with an appropriate matching linguistic form from me. When all the animals were safe inside the barn, he then began taking them all out, one by one, waiting for me to match the form with the context. We must have sat there for fifteen minutes. We never had eye contact, nor did he ever open his mouth. We both focused on an experience he enjoyed, through which linguistic meanings could be encoded. The "conversation" ended when he got up and walked away.

Sometimes the bustle of classroom activity precludes extended interaction of the kind I had with my little four-year-old friend. But even in short encounters, teachers can provide the language children seek to match concepts they already know. The kindergarten teacher, Bonnie Shaffer, teaches us how this is done while she and a five-year-old second language child are looking at a book.

Child	Teacher
	She has braids. Her hair is braided.
That a braid. (points to her own hair.)	
	(Pulling gently on the child's hair.) This is a pony tail. What does mother call it?
Mother – (Makes cutting gestures with two fingers.)	
	What did mother do? What did she do? right here? (She runs her fingers in a cutting motion.)
(Gestures cutting.)	
	She *cut*. Mother *cut* your hair.
(Shakes head yes.)	
	Yes, she did. Mother *cut* your hair in back. She used the scissors to *cut* your hair.

(Urzúa 1981:29)

Thus the teacher provides the linguistic codes for the concepts the little girl understands. As important as the teacher is in the human environment of ESL programs, there is another group of people who are also enormously important to successful programs for kids, and that is other kids. Wong-Fillmore's (1976) important observations of five Mexican immigrant children showed that all children, but especially the better language learners, "hooked up" with other children, utilizing their friend's superior linguistic skills to give needed input. Children, far more than adults, seek input from people more than from books. Because of this, there are at least two important aspects of ESL programs which teachers must establish: first of all, the children must be in mixed-ability groups, so that there are some linguistically superior children in a group, and second, children must have many opportunities to interact with native speakers of the language, if it is possible.

It is the practice in most schools in North America to "track" ESL children by proficiency in English. Thus, all of the beginning speakers of the language are placed together, resulting in a program where no learners' English is any better than any other. Does that make sense? From an institutional view point, it's perfect. There are, supposedly, no variations to worry about. The same text can be used for everyone, and criteria can be established for exiting, and so on. From a child's viewpoint, however, it's a nightmare. Because of the lack of proficiency among all the children, no child can provide input for anyone else and all children are forced to rely on the only linguistically superior person in the room - the teacher.

But the teacher is never enough. As Wong-Fillmore so convincingly writes:

> Teachers - no matter how cleverly their instructional programs are conceived - cannot provide enough input of the sort to permit children to learn language effectively. . . He or she cannot provide the contextual information a learner needs in order to learn how the language is used in real-life situations.
>
> (1976:728)

The reason, of course, is that social factors are critical in the second language acquisition process and if we are trying to provide an environment which is effective for children, we cannot segregate them from better speakers of their own age. Our ESL kids need to be in dynamic, interactive situations with native English speakers and/or linguistically superior peers. Contact among groups needs to be vigorously promoted. Activities must be planned which cannot be successful unless at least two people work together. Such activities as communication exercises in which one person tells another, separated by a barrier, how to replicate a design, fit this description. Without the reinforcement from superior linguistic peers, the new language will find limited use.

Another group of people kids should have extensive interaction with are other adults. An effective ESL program, then, is aware of the sociocultural influences on language use, and provides a variety of contexts in which children learn the appropriate language for that place and group. Ventriglia (1982) in her informative book *Conversations of Miguel and Maria*, demonstrates differential language use through recorded conversations of children learning a second language. In one scene, children are enjoying the celebration of Cinco de Mayo, Mexican independence day, by gathering with their parents at round, formally set tables to eat Mexican sweetbread and drink coffee and soda. Some children at one table begin tossing sugar cubes back and forth, with such requests as "Gimme the sweetie!" and "Lemme have the sweetie!" The teacher decides to join the group, and immediately the tone and formality of the situation changes. "Maria, please pass the sugar," says the teacher. And the children, who only a few minutes earlier understood "Gimme the sweetie" as appropriate with their friends, now switch to:

> "May I have some soda?"
> "Please pass the sugar."
> "May I please go out and play?"
>
> (1982:53-54)

Kids need lots of opportunities to interact with the principal, the janitor, volunteer grandparents, other kids' parents, and even older children. The more exposure to other situations and people they have, the more they will acquire more devices to express different uses of language.

So far in this paper I have suggested that an effective ESL program for elementary kids is one in which the physical and human environment includes materials and interactions that children need to acquire the new language. By this time, you may be thinking that the ESL teacher's job is complex and exhausting. And you're right! But the job is just beginning. If a program is to be successful, it cannot stop with the few minutes of formal ESL class; it must extend into the mainstream classroom where non-native English speaking children spend most of their day.

There are numerous things an ESL teacher can do to facilitate communication between the mainstream classroom and her or his ESL program; a discussion of these would be another entire paper. But I would like to suggest here that ESL specialists must know what their children face when they leave their classrooms; they must know how effective the environment outside of ESL class really is. There is no other way to do this than by following children around the school, observing what kind of interactions they have, with whom, what kinds of instruction they are getting in other classes, and how they are viewed by their teachers.

People who do this ethnographic work find the process and the information so obtained invaluable. For example, Nancy Hansen-Krening (personal communication) of the University of Washington, was asked to evaluate some migrant students. She followed three of the kids throughout the day. Horrifyingly, she found that none of the children ever had any recess, their only possible interaction time with native English speakers, because they were being put into so many special classes. In each of these classes, the children's "problem" was diagnosed as reading. However, each of the four different reading classes they attended approached reading in a different way. None of the teachers in these approach programs communicated with each other at all.

Teachers aren't the only ones who don't often communicate. Daphne Brown (1979), in her book *Mother Tongue to English*, followed Bengali speaking children as they became socialized into British schools. Viewing these children as dumb, or deaf, and sometimes, mute, other children would have little to do with them, and left to their own devices, the Bengali children often spent whole days in silence.

Many of my own students, who are public school teachers, discover similar situations when they do case studies in schools. A high school teacher, Rich Chapin, observing a fifteen-year-old Vietnamese boy, writes:

> Huy had virtually no observable interaction with other students in lunch, drafting, English, and initially in P.E. class. In ESL he has a peer tutor with whom he talks frequently during class. He also talks to Trang, the other Vietnamese student. However, the peer tutor is in his math class where they don't talk, even to say hello. . .
>
> All of the teachers were extremely solicitous of Huy. None made unfair or demeaning demands. Mostly, they left him alone - to do his work, read independently, etc. This behavior was reinforced because Huy manages his time very well, works independently, and does not initiate interaction. Thus the teacher who cannot afford to take significant time from the class as a whole is assured that at least he is working.
> (Chapin 1983:4)

Perhaps, Chapin surmised, Huy spoke Vietnamese with his housemate, Trang. The boys said no. Chapin wasn't sure:

> I have been following Huy and Trang around school, hiding in the bushes as they walk past on their way home, sending them to a specified part of the library for a project where I had hidden a microphone, etc. in a vain attempt to catch them speaking Vietnamese in school. They just don't. I thought the library project required complex communication - sufficiently so to prompt use of Vietnamese. The tape, however, was blank. To confirm this I sent them a second time and hid behind the bookshelves. Their goal was for Trang to teach Huy how to use the library-card catalogues, periodical guide, call numbers, reference section, check out system. Hard stuff to do if you don't talk, and I was going to test Huy the next day. All of the communication occurred via grunts, pointing, gestures, and force of example. I think I may have heard Trang say, 'You do it,' after he demonstrated the check out procedure. The block against Vietnamese in school is very strong, and there is evidently a

> derivative block against any verbal communication. . .Whatever the cause, the fact is, they don't talk–ever.
>
> (Chapin 1983:6)

It is difficult, when confronted with these data, to stay unaffected. Frequently, concerned teachers try to intervene with the students, giving them strategies for how to cope with their environment. For example, this same teacher tried to tell Huy how to get into conversations, and about what topics he might talk. Huy was "aware of the fact that other students felt as uncomfortable talking to him as he did to them. We talked about shyness - his and theirs, and of the general difficulty which language barriers erect" (Chapin 1983:7).

Sometimes, the intervention that ESL teachers must do is with the teacher of the child. After observing a Mexican American fourth grade boy for hours, another student of mine, Diane Sharken, could count only *nine* words in production, and an equally paltry number of verbal interactions with anyone, including the teacher. She, therefore, began an informal interview with him, and found, to her dismay, that the only people the boy thought could help him learn English were two best friends, one of whom had just moved away. Sharken, therefore, decided that suggesting some strategies to the teacher might be helpful for the boy. The following are some of her suggestions:

1. Speak with him, and give him responsibilities in the classroom.
2. Plan time each week to do something simple with him, such as prepare materials. It should be conversationally oriented.
3. Allow him to invite English speaking friends to a special corner for structured activity.
4. Set up a variety of interview situations through the year, once a month, if possible, in an area of his interest. These could be a poll of other students, or teachers.
5. Have him read with a first grader who speaks English. Help him prepare the selection.

(Chapin 1983:15)

Sharken's sensitive intervention reminds us that observation of children is not the end of our responsibilities in providing an effective ESL program. As a result of the programmatic evaluation in and out of ESL class, we must then become advocates for children. Our advocacy may take us into places both within and without the educational system, places we didn't dream might be our territory: into the superintendent's office to discuss differential grouping of native and non-native English kids; into the textbook hearings to plead for books which are sensitive to multicultural and multilingual issues; into PTA meetings to share the excitement and benefits of diversity; into legislatures to demand legislation which will guarantee, not just a minimal education, not even an adequate one, but an exceptional education for second language learners.

I suggested at the beginning that kids are dependent on the professionals to make the right decisions so their lives can be enhanced. Thus we've come full circle. By looking at some child second language data and children's development, it is clearer what some of those right decisions are. An elementary ESL program will be effective when the physical and human environments in and out of ESL classes are consistent with these developmental data. When I wish to know whether my program is reaching its potential, then, I must look to kids. I must listen to what they have to teach me about what will facilitate learning for them, and understand how they view the world. Again returning to Vivian Paley's (1981) *Wally's Stories*, let us conclude, then, by reading to a discussion and understanding what the children's view is of language and their part in it. During a discussion one day, Paley asked her class, "If you were in charge of the world, would you make only one language, or many languages, the way it is now?"

Tanya: One language. Oh yes! Then I could understand everyone in the world.
Eddie: No. Let it stay this way so different countries keeps on being not the same. Then you can take trips to see what those countries are like and how they talk.
Ellen: I like the world the way it is but I don't like fighting.
Teacher: Is that because they have different languages?
Ellen: Well, if they can't understand each other they might think good words sound like bad words.
Wally: She means like if someone says, 'Let's play,' in French, then in Chinese they might think he said, Let's fight'.
Warren: Keep it this way because if you're Chinese you would have to learn English.
Teacher: Would English have to be the language everyone learns?
Warren: I don't know what God likes to talk. Wait, I changed my mind. Let everyone say the same language. Then when my mommy and daddy speak quietly I could understand them.
Tanya: I changed my mind too. Better not have the same language. Here's why: whenever this whole world had the same language everyone would say they want *their* language to be the one everyone has to have. Then everyone would blame someone else for giving them the wrong language.
Akemi: If everyone speak Japan, everyone have to live there. My country too small for the big America.
Warren: Everyone can come to China. It's much bigger. Let Chinese be the language. No, I changed my mind. Let my mommy and daddy talk English *all* the time.

(Paley 1981:119-20)

But it is Wally who has the last word. Later in the week, he dictates this story:

> A little boy lived all alone in a deep forest. When he wanted to know a word, he asked lions and tigers and wolves. They told him pretend words because he couldn't speak animal language. One day he saw a lady and a man who didn't have a little boy.
>
> 'What language do you talk?'
>
> 'Animal pretend talk.'
>
> 'That's okay because we can teach you people's language. Which one do you want to learn?'
>
> 'English.'

> 'Good because that's our language. What words do you want to know?'
> 'Lion, tiger, and wolf.'
> 'You already know them. You just said them.'
> 'Then animal pretend talk must be English.'
>
> So they lived happily ever after. But the man and lady knew some words the boy didn't know, so they did have a lot to teach him.
>
> (Paley 1981:119-121)

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CONTENT AREA INSTRUCTION FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ESL STUDENT

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Elementary school children learning English as a second language without the benefit of bilingual programs have great difficulty learning science and social studies concepts taught in a language which these children understand and speak imperfectly. These difficulties intensify by grades four and five when vocabulary level increases and the use of textbooks is required for most classroom instruction.

Classroom teachers, untrained in ESL teaching techniques, may feel unable to deal with the demands of a class containing not only mixed levels of English-speaking students but also a number of bilingual children whose aural-oral and reading skills in English require specialized teaching techniques.

The elementary school ESL teacher, acting as a consultant to the classroom teacher, needs specific instructions to offer to teachers for classroom restructuring, and also teaching techniques that will help these teachers include ESL students in the classroom learning environment during the child's transition to English dominance.

This discussion will include perspectives on the nature of the problem and specific teaching and grouping techniques for fourth and fifth grade large group classroom instruction of multi-level and multi-lingual students.

The problems inherent in the teaching-learning of content concepts to second language learners in English begin in the distinction Jim Cummins (1981) makes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Language (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICS is the language of face-to-face communication. It is highly dependent on the context of the environment and gestural cues. BICS allows students to play, make friends, express needs, complain, and report. BICS users develop strategies that make them "appear" to be good language users: formulaic expressions/routines, avoidance strategies in speaking, guessing from context when listening or ignoring communication that is not understood unless the listener is required to understand.

In my experience, in a predominently English-speaking school and community, most of my students become very good BICS users within two years. The

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teaching staff in the school view these children as "fluent" speakers of English. For this reason, they find it difficult to understand how the poor school performance of these students is related to language. Instead, they look for reasons relating to low IQ and learning disabilities.

Cummins' (1981) concept of CALP, however, reminds us that school success is related to a student's ability to perform high level thinking skills in a second language, skills such as interpreting, classifying, analyzing, judging, making applications of knowledge, evaluating, and drawing inferences. These skills require specialized language and specialized tasks. The ability to perform these skills successfully requires continuing cognitive development. Increased cognitive development, in turn, better enables students to think critically. And so it is a continuous cycle of language aiding the development of cognitive growth which in turn aids language growth. Unlike BICS which requires two years to develop, Cummins believes that CALP requires five to seven years in most children. Furthermore, CALP develops mainly through school experiences. Nowhere else in the child's daily routine does anyone ask a child to compare, classify, or analyze material outside of his or her daily concrete life experiences. Unfortunately, the school experiences so essential to the development of CALP are often dependent upon reading in English—one of the last language skills mastered by ESL students.

Cummins' (1981) analysis indicates that it is not enough for elementary ESL teachers to enable children to speak English fluently at the conversation level. We must also provide children with the language and the environment whereby they can continue cognitive development through the application of high level thinking skills. In addition, we are challenged with the job of helping classroom teachers include ESL children in a meaningful way in classroom learning in spite of low level reading skills.

How do we begin? We should first recognize that the traditional class structure of a whole class presentation (such as a lecture, film, or textbook reading) followed by individual written exercises will not meet the needs of the ESL students in the group. A change of classroom organization is necessary to allow for cooperative learning strategies among students. Research into the learning styles of language learning children indicates that these children learn a great deal from their peers. Therefore, teachers would do well to incorporate small group or paired learning experiences into some part of the child's day.

With beginning level language learners, it is helpful to choose an English-speaking child who is sociable and nurturing as half of the learning pair. It isn't necessary to pair the brightest student in the class with a second language learner. Select several children to spend fifteen minutes each day with the ESL student. Set a definite goal and a time limit, and assign activities to the group or dyad which require interaction for completion. Examples of interaction activities include the following tasks:

- complete one math ditto together
- make a map of the school/state/country
- watch a filmstrip together and write a list of five new vocabulary words, or write a two-sentence summary, or draw a picture with labels summarizing the film

Teachers may accept non-verbal responses from beginning students such as sketches, diagrams, charts, time lines, flow charts, and tables. These responses require critical thinking skills from students but eliminate the need of producing results through a language medium. For example, the fourth grade student who is unable to write a paragraph summary of Ben Franklin's life may be able to draw a series of pictures illustrating the major events.

With intermediate level ESL students, use classroom peers to help simplify and clarify the information provided by the text, filmstrip, TV program, or audiotape. This activity is useful to both students in that English-speaking children must synthesize the concepts they have received from the presentation in order to create a summary paragraph or statement in cooperation with the language learning child.

It is important to keep some cautions in mind before attempting to group students in this way however. The activity must be time limited and have a specific performance objective. Do not place an English-speaking child with a second language child as a "helping situation." Some children will condescend. And do not assign peer work as an extra assignment for the English-speaking child. These activities should be viewed as regular work – not an added burden. Use a variety of students for pairing and incorporate small group activities into the school day for variety instead of the usual dyad situation.

Vocabulary

The beginning stages of most social studies and science lessons deal with the explication of new vocabulary. It's crucial that second-language students have a great many experiences with new vocabulary in several modalities (listening, speaking, reading, writing) because only then will the meaning of the new words become clear. The vocabulary learned by most students in content area classes is learned at the receptive level. The words are understood by students when heard or read in the text but most likely will not become a part of the students' active vocabularies until they are much older. In order to develop receptive understanding of new vocabulary, it is most helpful to present vocabulary learning tasks or games in short increments repeated frequently throughout the duration of the learning unit. The key to these vocabulary activities is that they require active listening on the part of tne student.

For all vocabulary instruction, it is necessary to teach the following skills: (1) visual recognition of the new word, (2) auditory recognition of the new word and, (3) association of meaning with the new word. These skills can be taught in a variety of ways and, in fact, variety seems to produce faster results in my students. Some techniques I have found useful include the following:

(1) Write a list of six to eight new words on the blackboard. Pronounce them and ask the class to repeat them.

(2) Ask the students to copy the list of words in list form. Tell students you are going to call out the list of words in mixed order. Students should place the numeral one next to the first word called out, the numeral two next to the second, and so on. Correct papers by writing the numerical order on the blackboard. Challenge students by increasing the length of the list or by calling out the words with increasing speed. Spend no more than ten minutes on this activity and go on to another phase of the lesson. The skills being taught through

this activity are auditory and visual recognition of the new words. Many children will find this task challenging and fun.

(3) Write a short list of new vocabulary items on the board. Explicate the words briefly but in a variety of ways. For example, draw pictures; use the word in a sentence; and provide a synonym. Next, ask students to write down the word you describe from the list. Encourage students to guess; provide ample clues; and correct the lists immediately by calling out the correct words. The skill taught here is the association of meaning to a new word.

(4) Ask students to create a bingo grid on a piece of paper by drawing nine boxes. Write the list of vocabulary words on the board and tell students to copy the nine words in any order on the grid – one word to a box. To play the game, the teacher calls out words which the children circle. The first student to circle three words in a row up, down, or diagonally calls out "Bingo."

(5) A similar game can be used to reinforce word meanings. For this game, call out the meaning of a word, not the word itself. Children again circle words but they cannot win "Bingo" if they mistakenly circle a word that the teacher has not defined.

(6) Write a list of words on the board and tell students you are going to call out a word's opposite. Another variation is to call out synonyms or to say a sentence with a blank which the child must supply by copying the correct word from the board. Sometimes I make up short dialogues where the target vocabulary item is omitted. Use as many variations as you can think of but keep the practice short. Repeat the practice several times a week and provide students with ample opportunity to see the new words, hear the new words,and write the new words.

I don't ask children to write sentences containing new vocabulary items. Writing is a productive skill that requires fairly complete understanding of the grammatical and semantic features of the new word. As such, writing a sentence is a testing technique not a teaching technique. After many sessions of teaching, children should be able to write sentences in appropriate contexts. A preliminary step to this end is to provide students with sentences containing blanks and a list of the new vocabulary from which to choose.

A vocabulary project is helpful to intermediate level students for learning the new vocabulary introduced in each science or social studies unit. For example, in a fourth grade unit on American Colonization, the project might include a list of words such as *economics*, *politics*, *religion*, *government*, *climate*, and *culture*. A fifth grade social studies unit on geographical terminology of the U.S. regions would include: *altitude*, *coast*, *island*, *continent*, *highland*, etc. Groups of words such as these can first be taught using the techniques mentioned above. These techniques will enable students to match up a word with a meaning from a restricted list. The vocabulary project will further enable students to solidify the meaning of the word and use it in relation to other words – a more difficult task.

For each unit or theme to be studied, present students with a list of related words. Regulate the number of words to the students' ability. Pass out an instruction sheet and individual task sheets for each word on the list. For each new word, students must:

(1) Give a definition
(2) State the grammatical category
(3) Give a synonym from the thesaurus
(4) Draw a picture or cut out a picture illustrating the word

(5) Look up the word in the textbook index and use the page number to find a sentence from the book using the word, then copy it
(6) Write an original sentence using the word
(7) Write a paragraph using five words from the project list
(8) Make an attractive cover with a title and compile the task sheets into a booklet
(9) Make a Table of Contents page
(10) Make an attractive poster for the classroom illustrating one of the words from the list.

Vocabulary projects are useful learning activities for all of the students in the classroom. They provide repetition, a variety of learning activities, and the use of various modalities. Teachers can assign these projects on an individual, small group, or dyad basis. Another alternative is to use vocabulary projects as small group activities in the beginning of the year and individual projects at the end of the year. The projects provide students with an opportunity for language interaction, the development of critical thinking skills, and the learning of critical study skills.

Study Skills

All students in the middle grades need to learn study skills but these skills are a crucial necessity to the second language learner who must learn content material which is transmitted through a language-dependent medium such as a lecture or a textbook. Learning study skills in grades four and five will help the student to continue to be able to learn in the higher grades where content is more difficult. Teachers can help second language learners acquire factual information in the classroom by providing students with the structure they need to organize the new information into a learnable framework.

One method that will accomplish this goal is to provide students with advance organizers prior to the presentation of the new material. One simple form of advance organization can be accomplished by writing *who*, *what*, *when*, *where*, and *why* on the blackboard. The teacher then tells students what the subject of the lesson is, e.g., the Boston Tea Party, and writes this on the board under the *what* column. Through questioning, the teacher can attempt to evoke the information needed under all five columns. Those columns that remain empty provide a framework for new information to be learned. After the students have completed the assigned reading or watched a filmstrip, the entire grid can be completed. The advance questioning not only prepares students for what they must learn, but also gives second language students the opportunity to see and hear new terms prior to the actual reading.

A similar approach requires the teacher to preview all new factual content prior to the reading task. Tell students what they will be reading and write key words on the blackboard. This technique helps students to focus attention on the major ideas.

Another advance organization technique is to ask and write a question on the board prior to reading, e.g., "Where or when did the Boston Tea Party take place?" These questions act as a frame for summarizing statements after the listening or reading experience.

Notetaking skills should be taught to all students in the middle grades but they are especially helpful to second language students as another means of organizing, synthesizing, and memorizing new facts and difficult vocabulary. Teachers can begin to teach notetaking skills in grades four and five by providing students with specific performance objectives. In other words, students need to know prior to the listening or reading experience if they will be required to recall the main idea or a series of important facts. To do this, it is necessary to provide students with an outline containing empty cells which must be filled in as students listen to a lecture or read a textbook. Depending on the kind of information to be recalled, you may provide students with different types of perceptual frames, e.g., a flow chart, a diagram, a time line, a chart, a sketch, or a table.

An example of the use of these techniques can be demonstrated with a grade four unit on American Colonization. The teacher first provides students with a matrix containing the types of information needed to be learned in the unit. This matrix can be in a ditto format or the teacher can simply outline it on the blackboard as students copy it into their notebooks. At this stage, students have the opportunity to hear and see unknown words and expressions, such as *Massachusetts Bay, Boston, Reasons for Immigration*, etc. The teacher can use some of the vocabulary techniques discussed earlier to help establish visual-auditory perception of the new vocabulary as well as begin to associate meaning with the vocabulary.

The next step is for the teacher to preview the content to be learned that day, listing this information on the blackboard. The lesson may center, for example, on the reasons for immigration to the New England colonies. The teacher will tell students that there were basically three reasons: religious freedom, economic opportunity, and political liberty. If these terms are new to the class, a few minutes of explication will be necessary. If the dates for establishment of the colonies are also to be studied, tell students that all establishment dates will fall between 1620-1750 and write this information on the blackboard too. Questions asked at this stage will give further practice of the new vocabulary and will ensure that all students in the class are paying attention and actively involved. It is important to ask low level questions for English-speaking students in the class. An example of low level questions may be: "How many colonies will we learn about? What are they?"

Students will next read the textbook or listen to a lecture, or watch a film taking notes on the required information for filling in the empty cells of the matrix. The teacher should follow the presentation by questioning students on the information required and completing the pertinent cells on the blackboard matrix. The class can next be divided into small groups or dyads. Each group must write a summary paragraph about one colony containing facts from the matrix. These paragraphs can be read to the class by one member of the group or collected by the teacher.

What has been learned by using this approach? In addition to the social studies facts required by the state curriculum, students learn to attend to, organize, and synthesize information. These are skills necessary to a child's developing cognition. The approach enables second language learners to take part in cognitive skill development which is age appropriate by providing a visual framework for the language dependent information, by repetition of important new vocabulary and difficult names, by use of a multi-sensory approach to teaching-learning, and by the inclusion of the child in a peer group learning experience.

The Textbook

One of the most problematical areas of concern to classroom teachers is the use of a textbook with second language learners who have low reading levels. There are many discrepancies between the oral language learned by children in ESL class and the language of textbooks. The differences are greater than that of vocabulary alone. They include differences in word order, sentence length, voice, tense, metaphorical usage, and the placement and use of clauses. Because of these differences, teachers must either simplify the text for second language students or provide ways for them to use the text in a different way from the English-speaking students in the class.

For poor language users and readers, I would suggest that teachers help students to use the textbook in a different way. For example, the major paragraph headings in a textbook chapter on the life of Ben Franklin can be changed into questions by the language learning student. "Franklin studies printing" becomes "What did Franklin study?" and "Franklin travels in Europe" becomes "Where did Franklin travel?" In addition to helping students with the skill of question formation, this task enables the student to compile a list of chronologically organized questions which form a cognitive set prior to the actual reading experience. If paired with an English-speaking child, the language learning student can ask the questions and the English-speaking child can answer them. These questions and answers are then recorded in the child's notebook.

Textbook pictures can be explicated in a similar fashion. Set a performance objective for a small group or dyad such as: "Answer the following questions about the picture on page 114: Who, what, when, where, why, and how? Use complete sentences." The answered questions are checked for correctness by the teacher. These sentences can then be used by the language learning student to write a summarizing paragraph about the picture. Since pictures ensure much of the meaning that is missing from textbook language, they are useful teaching aids for the content area teacher of a multi-lingual group.

In one of the fourth grade social studies textbooks used in my school, the life of Ben Franklin is illustrated by five or six colorful pictures. Each of the pictures can be explained as described above until the student has acquired several paragraphs concerning the major events in Franklin's life. These paragraphs can be copied into a special book about Ben Franklin; a map can be included pointing out the city and state where he lived as well as a chart containing the important information about his life such as: birth, death, occupation, nationality, etc. Last, the student can make an attractive book cover. These books can be hung on the bulletin board or become a part of the classroom reference collection.

Textbook maps provide a wealth of easily comprehended information for language learning students. They help these students learn map skills as well as vocabulary and sentence structure. The social studies unit on the Civil War in my fourth grade text includes a map of the North and South at the time. Students can use this map to categorize all the proper names printed on the map into the following categories: cities, states, battles, forts, rivers, and lakes. This is a good group activity for both English and non-English speaking students. After the categories are complete, the resulting chart can be used by language learning students to write sentences such as: Savannah is a city; Georgia is a state; Yorktown was a battle; Fort Dearborn was a fort; The Ohio is a river; Lake Erie is a lake. Note the linguistic information necessary to complete this task correctly. Students must be aware of verb tenses, capitalization rules, and the use of definite and indefinite articles.

These language mechanics rules can be further reinforced by asking students to use the textbook index to look up new vocabulary, copy the page numbers, and then find the new word used in a sentence. The student must copy the sentence exactly without any errors in spelling, capitalization, or punctuation. In this way, students can learn index skills that will be valuable to them later on in school.

Textbook diagrams in both social studies and science texts enable students to practice writing English sentences while illustrating the meaning of the sentence. In my district's fourth grade social studies text, a map of the southern United States is illustrated with major events in the life of Daniel Boone. These pictures are labeled with captions such as: Captured by the Indians, Hunted wild game, etc. Language learning students can use this diagram to write sentences such as: Daniel Boone was captured by the Indians in Kentucky, and Daniel Boone hunted wild game in Tennessee. Science texts also contain many labeled diagrams of science experiments that can be used to teach language as well as the vocabulary of the science class.

The most common use of the text in content area classrooms is the traditional instruction to read a section and answer the comprehension questions at the end. I would suggest that this task be modified somewhat for low level readers by requiring that two children or a small group of children answer the questions collectively. Only one paper need be returned to the teacher with each child's name on it. At least, with a group approach, the language learning child has the opportunity to see and hear the questions discussed as well as to become actively involved in the learning activity.

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EST: DESIGNING A MINI-COURSE FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN A CHEMISTRY LAB COURSE*

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This paper is based on a case study of two non-native speakers of English in a Chemistry laboratory course at The University of Michigan. The study was started as part of a course in ESL theory taught by Larry Selinker, and continued in Selinker's English for Academic Purposes course. We got our idea for the paper from Val Goodfellow who is a teaching assistant in the Chemistry Department. In a discussion with one of the authors of this paper, in which he was relating the problems of two foreign students in his class, he made a comment something

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like this, "Why don't you people ever come over to the real world and find out what kind of English your students need to know when they actually get into school?", not realizing that he had just reinvented the whole field of English for Special Purposes (ESP).

We decided to do some sort of a study to see what kinds of language skills foreign students needed in chemistry lab situations. After some debate we decided that the best way to go about this would be the case study approach. Although we would be sacrificing the generality of knowledge that might be gained through studying a large number of students, we felt that we could gain a deeper knowledge of the problems faced by these two students in Val Goodfellow's lab if we concentrated on them. We agreed with the view taken by Maxine Schmidt that we can be provided with "knowledge about both the 'means of learning' and 'the language abilities' the learner must have to gain knowledge in his or her field" (1981:201) through the case study.

We set out to answer several research questions in our original study, three of which will be discussed here:

(1) What differences were there among our non-native speaker subjects' use of language in doing lab work, writing lab reports, and taking lecture notes, and the use of language by the native speaker control subjects?

(2) How did those differences affect their performance on lab reports and in the lab?

(3) To what extent do the beliefs of these non-native speakers about their language capabilities reflect their actual performance in the lab?

In addition to answering these questions, we will present some suggestions for other researchers working in the same area and discuss the materials that we have developed in answer to the different language and intercultural factors that we found affected the students' performance. We had hoped to test these materials extensively before presenting them in this paper, but the undergraduate foreign student enrollment in the chemistry courses at The University of Michigan has gone down a great deal in the last year, and we were simply unable to find the students for our mini-course. However, we feel that these materials will still be of use to others working in the same area.

The students in our study were enrolled in Chemistry 227, a laboratory course that supplements the organic chemistry lecture course at The University of Michigan. There were about three hundred students enrolled in the course, but there were only fourteen students in the section that we studied. The class meets two times a week for four hours. There is usually a pre-laboratory lecture for the entire group by the professor, after which the class goes to the laboratory to work in smaller sections supervised by a teaching assistant. Each student works individually in the lab, and is expected to have read the relevant sections of the lab manual and to have prepared pre-lab notes. In addition, a lab report, which is graded by the teaching assistant, must be written following the lab. The students are also graded on a mid-term and a final examination.

The subjects of our case study included four female students. Two of the subjects were non-native speakers of English and two were native speakers for control. They were:

- Saroya, a non-native speaker from Lebanon
- Pumsi, a non-native speaker from India
- Gloria, a native speaker
- Barb, a native speaker

Control subjects were used so that we could compare language skills used in performing tasks such as writing lecture notes and pre- and post- lab write ups. The native speakers were chosen on the basis of their test scores and evaluations by the teaching assistant. Gloria was chosen as an example of a very good student and Barb as an example of an average student.

Saroya, who was 25 years old, is originally from Harris, Lebanon, but attended an English medium school from the age of 11 while living in Sierra Leone, West Africa. She taught Arabic, her native language, in Sierra Leone before coming to the United States. She studied at Henry Ford Community College before entering The University of Michigan. She was in her junior year, majoring in both biology and medical technology, and had taken four chemistry courses, including the one we were studying. She scored 95 on the Michigan Test, and had been in the United States for two and a half years prior to the study.

Pumsi, age 19, grew up in Bharucs, Gujurat, India. She was also in her junior year majoring in medical technology, and had taken five chemistry courses including this one. In addition to Gujurati, her native language and the language in which she was schooled, Pumsi speaks Hindi. She came to the United States four years prior to this study and spent her senior year of high school in Westland, Michigan. She also completed two years of college at Henry Ford Community College before entering The University of Michigan. She did not take the Michigan or TOEFL tests. Pumsi and Saroya met at Henry Ford Community College, and were roommates at the time of the study.

We collected data over a nine week period of time through questionnaires, interviews with the teaching assistant and the four subjects, observation of the lecture period, observation of the lab period, collection of lecture notes and lab reports from the four subjects, and discussion of the lab reports and notes with the teaching assistant. In developing the materials for the mini-course since the pilot study, we have discussed them with other teaching assistants and lecturers in the Chemistry Department.

Findings

Lecture notes and lab reports: The differences in organization and style in lecture notes and lab reports were striking. Gloria uses a variety of ways to highlight and distinguish information in her notes, including various color pens to denote different information, capital letters, quotation marks, exclamation marks, outline formatting, and boxing around words. Pumsi highlights headings by underlining and numbering points. In organizing lab reports, both native subjects clearly number steps of experiments and label comments, whereas Pumsi puts everything in one or two large paragraphs. Examples of this are found in Appendix B.

Pumsi records information in her notes using full sentences except when diagrams and formulae are included. She includes diagrams and formulae in her notes that were written on the board by the teacher exactly as they were displayed on the board with few attempts at writing any explanation that the teacher may have given orally. On the other hand, Gloria includes explanations along with the diagrams that she copies into her notes or records the information verbally without the use of diagrams. Gloria does not record information in full sentences as Pumsi does; instead she uses a telegraphic style of writing, omitting verbs, articles and any other words that can be omitted. Pumsi's notes often contain functional explanations with less emphasis on the lab procedure. Saroya uses more explanations and descriptions of diagrams in her notes than Pumsi. (Throughout this paper, frequently only Pumsi's work will be mentioned in comparison to the native speakers' work. In general the same type of differences from native speakers were found in Saroya's work; however, the differences were more marked in Pumsi's notes and lab reports.)

Differences in content: Occasionally, Pumsi's notes lack information that Gloria's notes include (e.g. titles and technical explanations). Pumsi's notes include mostly graphs, calculations, chemical equations and formulae with little accompanying explanation. The teaching assistant pointed out that Pumsi's lecture notes mainly contain information that the lecturer had written on the board and information that had been spoken clearly and slowly enough that she could record it word for word. According to the teaching assistant's interpretation of Pumsi's lecture notes, she seems to leave out information if she does not understand what is said during lecture. She does not seem to indicate in her notes that she has either missed something or not understood something in the lecture (for example, by using a question mark). Her notetaking strategy seems to be to write down everything that is either on the board or spoken slowly and distinctly, and to ignore everything that she does not understand. Saroya's notes are similar to Pumsi's; however, the differences between her notes and the native speaker's are not so pronounced as Pumsi's and she seems to be better at writing down explanations to accompany diagrams copied from the board. The teaching assistant commented that Pumsi missed many main points while Saroya and the native speakers did not. Interestingly, Barb, the less proficient native speaker, also seems to try to write things down word for word as Pumsi did. She also is not as good at condensing ideas as Gloria.

In writing the procedure part of her lab report, which is supposed to be an accurate account of what the student did in the lab, Pumsi attempts to copy the instructions from the lab manual. She is unable to switch from the imperative form in the lab manual to the past tense that is appropriate. For example (with Pumsi's own grammar and spelling):

> Inlab: the mixture of NaBr and alcohol are cooled into icebath than add 35 ml H_2SO_4 (Conc.) Slowely and Fit that Flask with condensor. add boiling chips into the mixture than heat the mixture to gentel reflux. Continue heating at reflux for 45 min. and Equip the flask for simple distillation (pg.26) Distill the mixture, rapidly and collect the distillate in an ice bath cooled container.

Saroya seems to use this strategy at times, but she is more successful at using the correct tense than Pumsi.

The conclusions in Gloria's lab reports include qualitative information such as elaborate comments, suggestions, and predictions from the results, and excuses if her experiment did not turn out perfectly, as well as qualitative information such as temperature, amount of product obtained and percentage yield. On the other hand, Pumsi gives brief factual statements of what happened. Barb's conclusions list only the basic facts of her experiments, but she also makes explanations of problems with her experiments that serve to take some of the blame for failure off herself.

Differences in language use. Gloria seems to use more technical words than Saroya (e.g. *calibrated, mother liqueor, clouded,* and *crop*), and Saroya seems to use more than Pumsi. Occasionally, Pumsi's notes contain incorrect, misspelled, or unidentifiable words (e.g. *mobil face* for *mobile phase*). Whereas both native speakers either use the passive or omit the subject from their sentences in lab reports, the non-native subjects mainly use declaratives with *we* as the subject in expressing a similar idea. In addition, the native speaker subjects appear to reduce adjective clauses to phrases more often than the non-natives. For example, Gloria writes "the observed melting point" where one of the non-native speakers would say typically "the melting point that was observed."

Materials

Lab reports: It was our original plan to develop a set of exercises that all students would do in the mini-course at the same time to correct some of the problems found in the non-natives' lab report writing. However, after attempting to develop these, we felt that in the short amount of time that we had for the mini-course, it would probably be more profitable to ask the students to bring in their own lab reports so that we could help them only in those areas which needed to be improved. In Appendix C there is a list of items for teachers to use in discussing students' writing with them. One might assume that the students' teaching assistant would be able to give them suggestions like this, and some teaching assistants do. However other teaching assistants do not have the linguistic sophistication to make specific suggestions about how students can improve their writing. Other teaching assistants are not interested in taking the time. Some teaching assistants professed not to care about grammatical errors or spelling problems saying that they understood foreign students have extra difficulties, but it seems likely that even these understanding teaching assistants are at least subconsciously influenced when confronted by a lab report containing a great deal of errors. Other teaching assistants said that they would not even accept papers that looked like some of Pumsi's. This list was compiled from problems that we found in our students' papers and from problems that our informants mentioned are common in all student's writing. The most recurrent theme from the chemistry teachers was that students need to present their information in a way that the teacher can find it quickly and easily. This is similar to the idea of the "busy reader" that Huckin and Olsen (1983) discuss in their book *English for Science and Technology* (see list of suggestions in Appendix C).

Lecture Comprehension: It was interesting to us that Saroya and Pumsi did not feel that they had problems with note-taking. Pumsi stated in her interview that her problems in chemistry were not caused by language. She said, "I take good notes in Chemistry." However from comparison with native speakers' notes, it is clear that she often missed vital information; materials were developed to aid in correcting this problem.

We felt that the most obvious problem in our non-native speakers' note-taking strategy was the fact that they copied diagrams or formulae from the blackboard without really comprehending them and without adding any accompanying explanation from the lecture. We felt that this was one problem that we could correct somewhat during a short mini-course. We also wanted to work on some note-taking strategies such as developing a personal shorthand style instead of just trying to write the lecture down word for word. For people like Pumsi, who sometimes do not understand part of the lecture and therefore cannot write it down, we wanted to encourage students to develop a method of keeping track of things that they do not understand and dealing with them later in the way that native speakers do, by asking the teacher or another student. We especially felt that the first problem of merely copying information from the board was important because other researchers had observed it in other subject areas (Marenghi and Rounds 1980). Our first problem in developing these materials was finding lectures to use in the mini-course. We did not have the money to make videotapes, nor would we have been able to give the lectures ourselves. We could not ask the chemistry teachers to take the time to give lectures for us to tape. Recalling that the Media Department at The University of Michigan carries films on a variety of subjects, we found that there were quite a few films and videotapes on chemistry, most of which were lectures and demonstrations. We chose several of these as the basis for our lecture comprehension materials. We selected fairly simple ones initially, so that the students would not have to contend with a great deal of new vocabulary, but rather could devote time to developing note-taking skills. The first lesson is a film with accompanying lecture notes that were written by us. The students watch this film as a group and afterwards discuss the style of notetaking on the worksheet – things they like and do not like about it, and ways that they would have done it differently if they had been taking the notes. We do not think that it is beneficial to force a method of notetaking on them, but we want them to begin thinking about their own strategies.

Next they view the film *Solutions*. (The exercise for this film is in Appendix A). In this exercise they watch the film once attempting to record the missing information and, most importantly, to add a description to the diagram. They are given time to discuss this work with the teachers and the other students, and then they view the film again. This process is repeated with two other films in which they are given less and less information. Each film contains diagrams or equations that must be copied along with explanations, because we felt that the lack of this skill was a very major problem in our subjects' notes. Students are encouraged to pass over things that they do not understand in order to keep up with the lecture, but they are also encouraged to indicate what they have not understood, so that they can find that information later. Our objective in the lecture comprehension material is not to teach vocabulary or new aspects of chemistry concepts, but rather to focus on strategies.

A brief analysis of the lectures in the first year chemistry course, which was not the object of this study, showed that the main emphasis of those lectures was to introduce and define new terms, and to demonstrate simple laboratory techniques. The Organic Chemistry course places less emphasis on explicit definition of terms, and focuses more on the theoretical aspects of chemistry. More time is spent on formulae and equations. Lab technique is discussed and procedures are sometimes illustrated on the board, but rarely demonstrated as in the introductory course. A teacher planning materials for either of these courses might want to keep those ideas in mind.

Findings

Personal belief system and intercultural problems: We felt that some of our subjects' personal beliefs and intercultural problems may have affected their performance in the laboratory as much as their language abilities. It is very difficult to separate the effects of the two. First, there definitely was a language problem. In addition, the subjects may have been hampered by language problems in study skills such as reading, but we did not examine this area. Another area in which it is difficult to differentiate linguistic or cultural interference is the interaction with other students and the teaching assistant during the lab period. We observed the lab period and found that both of our non-native speakers interacted much less with other students than did the native speaker, control students. While this may seem to be only a social problem, it may have had an effect on the students' performance, as they were not able to talk to other students to get advice about experiments, or to ask about notes that they had missed as the native speakers did. However, this did not seem to be the result of a linguistic inadequacy as both of our non-native speakers could carry on a conversation quite well. Unfortunately it seemed to be an attitude problem on the part of the native speakers in the class. Saroya once stated that, at first, none of the other students wanted to talk to her; then some of them realized that she was doing fairly well and decided that they did want to talk to her. However, she felt that it was only the weaker students that wanted to talk to her, and in her own form of reverse discrimination, she didn't want to talk to them. This lack of interaction with other students was beyond our control and was not dealt with in the mini-course.

However, we also noticed that Pumsi did not interact with the teaching assistant nearly as much as Saroya, who was a much better student, or the native subjects. In discussing this with them later, we found that it seemed to be related to their attitudes toward the teacher. Saroya felt that she had paid her money and that she had a right to ask him as much as she wanted because his job was to teach her. Pumsi, on the other hand, was frightened of the teaching assistant. His desk in the lab was near hers and she felt that he was always watching her. Pumsi seemed to believe that the teaching assistant's job was to watch her and catch her doing something wrong so that he could give her a poor grade. Later we found that he was unaware of the fact that it made her nervous when he worked at his desk, and that he did not believe that he was watching her. She interpreted the several times when he had caught her in a mistake as times when she had failed at something and had been caught, whereas he interpreted those same times as attempts to help straighten her out. Although we realize that cultural attitudes and personal beliefs are deeply ingrained and difficult to change, we included a discussion of the role of the teacher in our mini-course hoping that it would encourage the students to see the teaching assistant as a helper, not as an adversary. Traditionally in EST, lessons in culture are omitted; however we felt that cultural factors had affected our subjects' performance in the class (see Appendix D).

We ended our study of these two students as quickly as we could because we sensed that it was causing them some nervousness. We were afraid that we were affecting their performance in the lab. Shortly after the end of our involvement with the class an incident occurred that we felt was serious enough to be dealt with in the mini-course. Pumsi had an accident in the lab that destroyed a large part of the product on which she had been working. She did not have enough time to redo the experiment, but the teaching assistant took the flask containing the experiment to his lab and extracted as much of the product as he could and told her not to worry about how little was left. She had to do some more procedures on that compound, turning it in a few days later. To his surprise she turned in a large amount of the finished product. Students are not graded on the amount of product they turn in, only the quality, and it is clear that Pumsi knew this because she had stated this earlier in one of her interviews with us. However, students are only supposed to turn in their own work and the teaching assistant considered this cheating. He gave her a very low grade on that lab report. Saroya and Pumsi came into his office and admitted that Pumsi had used some of Saroya's product, but they saw this only as one friend helping another. The teaching assistant still felt that this was cheating. He also felt rather hurt since he felt that he had gone out of his way to help Pumsi, and then she had lied to him. The two students then went to the professor in charge of the course and denied the entire episode. He came to the teaching assistant who told him that they had admitted it. The professor was angry and wanted to give them an *F* for the course, but the teaching assistant told him that he did not believe that it was a serious enough incident for that. It ended with them both getting a low grade on that one lab report. Based on this experience and our own experience as ESL teachers, we felt that we should include a discussion of the American concept of cheating in the mini-course. We use this incident as a basis for our discussion of cheating, and point out to students that although they may see it as merely a friendly gesture, it could be serious enough to hurt their grades or even cause them to be expelled. The handout contains a summary of information compiled by Keiko Hirokawa on different cultural views on classroom interaction and the role of the teacher. This information is to be used as a guideline for the teacher in planning for the discussion. There is also a copy of the handout about the cheating incident that we use for our discussion (see Appendix D).

Finally we would like to stress the importance of the subject specialist informant in our study. None of us knew much about chemistry when we began – two of us had had one year of college chemistry, but we really didn't know enough about Organic Chemistry to know if our analyses of the lab reports and lecture to investigate a field that otherwise would have been closed to us. (For more information on the use of informants, see Larry Selinker 1979).

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Appendix A:
Sample worksheet to accompany filmed lecture "Solutions"

This worksheet is a guideline for you to use as you listen to the filmed lecture. The major topic headings and a few extra notes are given for you. As you listen to the lecture, try to record more complete information under each subject area. There is also a diagram on this worksheet that you will see in the lecture. In the space below the diagram, write down the information from the lecture that explains what those diagrams are.

I. Examples of mixtures:

A. ________________________________
B. ________________________________
C. ________________________________

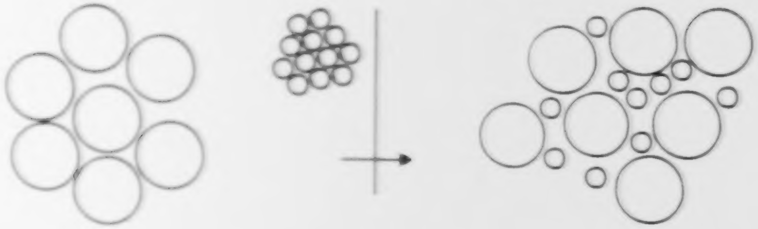
II. Tests for solutions:

A. Filter paper ________________________________
____
B. ________________________________
____
C. ________________________________
____
D. ________________________________
____

III. Types of solutions:

A. Solid in liquid ________________________________
B. ________________________________
C. ________________________________

IV. Process of forming a solution:



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____

____

V. Increasing Rate of Solution:

A. Stirring __________________________________
B. ______________________________________
C. ______________________________________

VI. Process of Cooling:

____

____

____

Appendix B
Examples of Students' Lab Report Writing

(All are descriptions of the same procedure.)

Pumsi: Inlab: the mixture of NaBr and alcohol are cooled into icebath than add 35 ml H_2SO_4 (Conc.) Slowely and Fit that Flask with condensor. add boiling chips into the mixture than heat the mixture to gentel reflux. Continue heating at reflux for 45 min. and Equip the flask for simple distillation (pg 26) Distill the mixture, rapidly and collect the distillate in an ice bath cooled container.

Saroya: In lab: 0.30 mol of sodium bromide was added to 35 ml of H_20 and 0.30 mol of 1-butanol. This was mixed thoroughly and cooled in an ice bath. Slowly, 35 ml. of conc. H_2SO_4 added and the whole mixture refluxed until two layers appeared. (45 min.)

Gloria:

1. Combined the following in a 250 ml. round bottomed flask.

2. Mixed thoroughly [30.9 g. NaBr, 35 ml. water, 27.5 ml. 1-butanol]

3. Cooled in ice bath.

4. Added 35 ml of conc. H_2SO_4 to 250-ml flask while swirling and cooling.

5. Added boiling stones.

6. Refluxed mixture on a steam bath for approximately 1½ hours then for 15 minutes using a heat element.

7. Corked solution and saved until 1-25-83.

Appendix C
Things to look for in improving students' lab report writing:

- Students should use some impersonal form of writing – either passive or omission of the subject of sentences as in Gloria's example above.

- Encourage students to look up spellings of new chemical terms in their lab book and to pay attention to spellings of common words. Many students may not see any importance in having words spelled correctly, but the grader will be affected by a great deal of misspellings.

- Students who are uncertain of their English can rely on the lab book in writing up their procedures, but they must learn how to change the instructions in the book to past tense so that they can report what they actually did, not just repeat the instructions in the book. For example, Pumsi often attempted to use this strategy, but could not manipulate the tenses properly as in this example: "To recrystallized the benzhydrol add dropwise boiled 95% ethanol and filter that solution on steambath and add water until it PPT(Cr)."

- Any time information is given that could be displayed in a chart or graph encourage students to do so. The grader is not interested in hunting through a great deal of prose to find the few numbers or facts that he/she is interested in.

- Help students decide which information is essential and encourage them to leave out extraneous information. Writing style should be as concise as possible. For example, Saroya's example in Appendix B is acceptable but would be better if she condensed her paragraph into one or two sentences such as: "To a chilled solution (0 C.) of 0.30 mol NaBr and 0.30 mol 1-butanol in 30 ml H_2O was added 35 ml conc. H_2SO_4 slowly with stirring. The reaction refluxed ca. 45 minutes until two layers appeared." The informant did not feel that this was an unreasonable standard of writing proficiency to expect from sophomore level students.

- A general rule of thumb is to do anything that will help the grader find the essential information as quickly as possible.

- Encourage students to include comments in their reports about factors that may have influenced the outcome of their experiments.

Appendix D
Cultural differences that may affect academic performance

Student-Student Interactions

- Competition and heavy concern for grades among American students are frustrating to many students. (For example, in Japan personality development is considered more important.)

- American students are more individualistic and lack group cohesion. In many countries, students have a few close friends (more than classmates) and they do everything together – live, eat, shop, and study. To these students, American students appear to be cold and unhelpful.

Teacher-Student Interactions

- American teachers' informality is new to many students who are used to keeping distance between their teachers and themselves. (For example many students are surprised by teachers that allow students to call them by their first name or to go out to eat or drink with their students.) Many students enjoy this informal relationship with their teachers and take advantage of it, but other students still try to maintain distance.

Teaching Methods

- Many students are used to large, tightly structured, teacher-centered lectures and are not used to the "give-and-take" concept in American education (Passive learning vs. Active learning).

    - Small group work and expected in-class participation are difficult.

    - Critical thinking is a difficult process to learn.

    - Independent thinking and opinion formation (vs. memorization) are new.

    - A wide variety of opinions offered by teachers and students for "open-ended" questions is confusing and difficult to accept.

- In many countries the size of the class is larger than that of American classes and thus, attendance is not as noticeable (Class notes can often be purchased).

- Some students remain silent in class because they believe asking questions and giving their own opinions interferes with the class. Some students are embarrassed to admit that they don't understand.

Teacher image

- In many countries teachers are considered "untouchable" and have god-like status, because they are very experienced and knowledgeable in all areas of study and life.

    - Students take their teacher's view without question and American teachers' open questions and wide varieties of opinions expressed in class give some students an impression that the teacher doesn't understand.

  - American teachers are specialized. Their narrow knowledge of one field contrasts with the Japanese and Chinese view that a teacher should have general knowledge.
  - American teachers' manners and dress are too informal to some students.
  - Different teachers teach different things or ways in the same course.

Homework

- The amount of reading and writing assignments is heavy.
- Frequency of homework may be different.
- Many students have very little experience in using libraries.

Cheating

- Plagiarizing – Many students don't know how to write papers (Footnoting, quoting, etc.).
- Sharing homework, tests, etc., with other students may come from the idea of helping/supporting friends.

Textbooks

- Many students believe that textbooks are absolutely correct and perfect.
- The practice of picking and teaching only the most important parts of the text may seem strange.
- The availability of texts is poor in some countries. Some students may not know how to use a text.

Tests and Quizzes

- Some students are not used to standardized objective exams, but are used to writing long essays and having oral exams at the end of each term.
- American students have frequent tests and quizzes, and students may feel frustration and anxiety.

Sex

- Some countries have segregated schools. Therefore:
  - Some female students may feel frightened of a male teacher.
  - Female teachers may have difficulty in winning respect from some male students.
  - Some students may have problems in working with the opposite sex.

Handout for students in workshop to discuss

You just got your lab report back with a "zero" on the top with an added note: "Come see me after class." You quickly look over the lab report and cannot figure out what you did to deserve such a low grade.

During your lab last week you had an accident that destroyed much of the product you had been working on. Unfortunately, you did not have time to redo the experiment so you informed the lab instructor about your problem. To help you out, he took the flask containing your product and extracted as much of the product from the substance as possible. He told you not to worry about the small amount of product, to just turn in what you had and that you would receive a grade on the quality, not the quantity of the product.

You felt uncomfortable turning in such a small amount even though you knew that it would not affect your grade. So you asked your close friend, another foreign student, for some of her product since she had plenty to spare. You then turned in what you felt was a reasonable amount of product.

After class you go up to speak with the lab professor, as instructed, and he asks you why you turned in such a large amount of product last week after having finished the experiment with a much smaller amount. Unaware that you have done something wrong, you tell him that your friend donated some of her product since she had extra. The lab professor then tells you that he considers this cheating and, as a result, he gave you a zero and will stick by that decision. In addition, he says that he's also going to give your friend a zero since he played a part in the incident. You explain that you feel that this is not cheating, just an incident of "one friend helping another," but it makes no difference to the professor.

You feel that you and your friend have been treated unfairly and that this was not a matter of cheating, so you decide to appeal the lab professor's decision to the department head. The result is even worse. He is so angry that he says he may instruct the lab professor to give you an F for the course or have you brought before a university board that investigates charges of cheating and could expell or suspend you.

Luckily, your lab professor is a little more understanding and convinces the department head that the incident was not serious enough to merit a failing grade for the entire course. You still do not quite understand the seriousness of what you did and you certainly did not cheat knowingly and intentionally, but in the end, you and your friend accept the zero and drop the matter.

Reactions/Questions for consideration:

1. What are your reactions to this incident?

2. Given your academic experience in your own country, do you consider this incident improper or unusual?

3. In your opinion, what would the reaction of the lab professor have been if this had taken place in your country?

4. Define the word ***plagiarism***. How is plagiarism similar to the incident above? Given the reactions of the professors to the chemistry incident, do you think an incident involving plagiarism would be considered as serious or even more serious?

5. What other kinds of behavior might be considered as cheating?

USING C.A.L.L.
TO TEACH COMPOSITION

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Four years ago I began writing teaching programs at the University of Massachusetts/Boston. These programs are used as a tutorial adjunct to ESL freshman composition. Like many people, I began by writing programs which review basic grammar. Although they were well received by students, they were typical electronic flashcard exercises. The correlation between improvement on grammar exercises and improved grammar in composition is not self-evident. Since my goal is to help students with composition, I developed five types of composition exercises which are more directly related to composition skills.

Before I describe these programs in detail, I'll discuss the problem all composition programs must face. Then I'll briefly describe solutions other people have found. The central problem is this: Artificial Intelligence is still many years away from the creation of a program which can understand English. (Thompson and Thompson 1975). Is it worthwhile dealing with composition if it's impossible to deal with the meaning of what a student has written?

There are several solutions to this problem. One is to facilitate the revision process by using a word processor such as Word Star or Bank Street Writer. This leaves the student with the responsibility of coming up with a first draft and deciding how and when to revise it. However, revision is so much easier using a word processor that students are encouraged to revise a lot. Another solution is to fake it. Some programs help students to come up with a first draft by asking questions, and offering encouraging comments such as "How interesting," or "Tell me more," no matter what the student has written, rather like comments we make on papers at three A.M. These programs do help students overcome the hurdle of confronting a blank piece of paper. A third solution is to make general stylistic comments based on analysis of grammar and lexicon. This is the approach used by programs such as Bell Laboratories' *The Writer's Workbench*, which is based on Strunk and White's (1972) *The Elements of Style*. If the length of the average sentence is "too long", this type of program may accuse the writer of

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being "too wordy". If the ratio of nouns to verbs is too high, the style is labeled unclear. If certain Latinate words are used, the writer is told what shorter word to substitute. Since the program can't understand meaning, these comments may or may not be good guesses. Students who use these programs may focus on mechanics rather than meaning when they write, and become obsessed with sentence length, for example, rather than clarity.

Clearly, using computer programs to comment on composition is problematic. Students relate to computers differently than they do to textbooks or to teachers, and this in itself can help some students with their writing. The difficulties are worth overcoming for this reason.

I am going to describe some of the programs I've written, first in general, then in detail. My programs use a solution to the problem of meaning which is based on the Artificial Intelligence concept of the limited domain. Some programs can understand English fairly well when it relates to a specific, limited topic – a limited domain. Examples are programs which can "understand" baseball statistics or questions about airline ticketing (Woods 1978). My programs use specific paragraphs as their limited domain – they are relatively intelligent about the meaning of one particular paragraph or series of paragraphs. Therefore they can help students learn proofreading skills or evaluate their own writing, using clarity of meaning as one of the criteria. The other idea borrowed from Artificial Intelligence is the type of semantic trickery found in the Eliza program, which stimulates a Rogerian psychoanalyst. It's possible for a program to ask intelligent and relevant questions without understanding the answer. My programs may also ask the questions, and understand and use the information provided in the answer.

The first program type is a diagnostic proofreading program based on a summary written by an ESL class. The student user sees a paragraph with many typical ESL errors, and is invited to read and correct the paragraph. The premise is that an error which a student fails to correct in one way or another is an error the student may also fail to spot and correct when proofreading his own writing. A wide variety of correct answers is anticipated and accepted, and a wide variety of errors is also anticipated and commented on. The program keeps a tally of the types of error, and at the end suggests to the student which grammar areas with which the student has problems. Students who use the programs on a library basis are told which programs to call, and later programs use this information as would a composition teacher who is familiar with a student's weak areas.

The next program type is a modified cloze exercise that attempts to correlate grammar to the student's ability to proofread and make decisions about grammar which are based on clarity of meaning. For example, the student is given a chance to review article use, then given a choice of three paragraphs: easy, medium and difficult. The articles are missing, and the student adds them. The program anticipates all answers, and explains incorrect answers – specifically relating them to the meaning of the paragraph. If you look at the student's answer and the program's comments in the following examples, you'll see that the program is intelligent about the meaning of the paragraph, which describes an unpleasant dinner at a restaurant. It is also intelligent about student input in this limited domain, and is able to give a hint about an incorrect answer, as a human tutor would. The student is learning about article use, and also about proofreading: each sentence must be evaluated.

Student: Maybe there was strike at restaurant.
Computer: Want another try?
Student: No.
Computer: Give up? Here's the answer.
Maybe there was a strike at the restaurant.
'A strike' is correct –
This is the first time this strike was mentioned.
'The restaurant' is correct –
It's the restaurant we've been talking about.
Computer: After hour we left.
Student: After a hour we left.
Computer: Think about how you pronounce 'hour.'
Want another chance now?
Student: Yes
Computer: Good luck!
After hour we left.
Student: After an hour we left.
Computer: Excellent! You get a bonus point!

The third program type is a controlled composition exercise which works on verb tense. Again, grammar is related to meaning. One paragraph must be simple past tense because it happened yesterday. If we change the chronology of the narrative, the tense of the new paragraph changes to past perfect to reflect the change in meaning. The program "understands" the meaning, so it can comment on grammar (for example, "had had" uses "have" as main and auxiliary verb), and also on meaning (for example, a switch to simple present is necessary when the meaning becomes general.) The program then helps the student write and proofread the paragraph, which requires past perfect. Students learn to choose a verb tense which conveys their intended meaning when they write, as the following example of feedback shows:

Computer: I think I failed it.
Student: I had thought I had failed it.
Computer: This one's extra tricky.
'I think I failed it.' is correct.
This didn't happen before lunch –
You think so now!
You always have to think about what you mean and make the tense match the meaning.

The next program type begins to move toward a freer type of composition. This program helps students with a composition requiring different forms of past tense, and helps proofread for correct use of tense. However, students make many different types of improvements when they revise for which they take the initiative. As you can see from this example, students may revise extensively on the sentence level, adding information, clarifying ideas, and using more complex sentence structure as well as correcting grammar. (This is one student's input, not an amalgam.)

First draft: Saturday morning I was studing all day.
Second draft: Saturday morning I was studing all morning.

First draft: I went to Chinise resturan. I had a dinner.
Second draft: I went to chinise resturant and I had a dinner.

First draft: I had some homeworks and I did befor I went to bed.
Second draft: On saturday evening I did my homework befor I went to bed.

The next program type is a free composition program in the sense that the topic is emphasized and the program makes comments on content as well as grammar. What this program attempts to teach is the writing process rather than how to write a biographical essay, article use, etc. To illustrate the use of this program, I have chosen randomly a very weak writer I now have in the second term of Freshman Composition. She was in the Computer Center when I was writing this. Given an in-class composition, she would probably stop with Paragraph A, and look miserable. She is what Krashen would call a monitor underuser–she cannot analyze her own problems (Krashen 1982). In Krashen's model her affective filter is very high when she tries to write. She thinks of herself as a poor writer and becomes so tense she cannot proceed. She also suffers from what I would like to call a ***passivity problem***. Poor writers look to their teachers to take charge of the writing process, to decide when and how to revise ***for*** them. This program offers suggestions and guidance, but it cannot rewrite *for* the student. The student takes responsibility for revision, and this may change the student's attitude. Students become increasingly confident as they rewrite, and the final product is indisputably their own. If I'd done this revision with the student, it would have been better in some ways. However, I would have altered her ideas in revising (I can imagine myself saying, "You have to say what kind of guy he is–a nice guy?"), thus reinforcing her notion that she cannot write, and I can. Using this program, she learns to go through the writing process on her own. Her third draft may not be a vast improvement over the first draft, but it's clearer. The crucial point is not the improvement, but the fact that this student is learning how it is done.

First draft: Michiel[1] is twenty five years old
He lives in California
Three weeks ago *he got an accident*[2]
He got therr brothers[3]
People thinks he is a guy[4]

Second draft: Michiel is twenty five years old
He lives in California
Three weeks ago he got an accident
He got therr brothers
People thinks he is a guy
He is a musician
Michiel Jacson loves his parents
All teenagers around the world loves him

Third draft: [5]*Michiel Jacson* is twenty five years old
He lives in California.
He is a great musician for along time.
Michiel loves his parents and he has three brothers.[3]
People think he is a guy.[4]
Michiel has been in accident.
The accident is caused by fire.[2]
All teenagers around the world loves him

The first part of this program is a brainstorming session. The program gets the student thinking about the topic. Also, the student learns that writers ruminate before they write. The next part elicits a first draft. Some students use ideas from the brainstorming session, and others don't. The next part is the first revision; the program asks specific, meaningful questions on content encouraging the student to evaluate the clarity of what she's written. The program also foresees likely grammar problems and finds out what the student's grammar problem areas are by asking the results of a diagnostic program. It helps the students check for likely problems. The student learns to look at each sentence for typical errors when proofreading. Also, the program asks the student to judge organization. For example, do added ideas necessarily belong at the end? Would they make more sense at the beginning? The program can swap them around and let the student decide what order makes the most sense. The student learns to think about organizational revision, rather than presenting ideas in the order in which they occured.

Finally, the program has the student do another revision. By now students have often thought of improvements the program had not suggested, and they may add these, as well as more information. The program asks the student to continue writing, using the same revision techniques. By the end, the student has a composition which might be further revised, possibly on a word processor. More importantly, the student has learned something about the writing process.

I think these programs meet some of the criteria for an Artificially Intelligent Tutoring System proposed by Mead (1983). First, these programs are not limited by the need to input only one correct answer, and in fact respond meaningfully to a wide variety of correct and incorrect answers. Second, they can gain and use information from users either by asking questions or by making their own analysis of input. Third, the diagnostic, controlled composition, and proofreading exercises respond to student input in terms of the global meaning of the paragraph with which they deal, just as a human tutor would. Fourth, the free composition programs are capable of helping students evaluate their own writing in a way that simulates human reaction to student writing. It is not identical to human-student interaction, and in many ways is inferior, but in some ways, it may be superior because of the very nature of the way some students interact with computers.

Not all students respond to the programs in the same way. It has not been possible to compare students who use the programs with students who do not. Some students are told to use the programs, and others use them voluntarily. Other teachers at University of Massachusetts/Boston have had their entire class use programs, or have assigned certain students to use them. Certain teachers don't use them at all. Given these circumstances, it would be difficult to establish comparable experimental and control groups, and difficult to quantify improvement in writing. Since the programs are supplemental, they do not do any harm. Almost all students enjoy the programs, and many seem to show a better understanding of the composition process and better control of mechanics after using them. Further, some students seem to do better with computer tutoring than with human tutoring for reasons that probably have to do with lowered anxiety.

The code used to write these programs is a very simple version of BASIC. Any version of BASIC would include the statements used: Print, Input, If-then-goto, Let and Remark. Although these programs run on a CYBER mainframe, I have written similar programs in Applesoft BASIC on an Apple IIE and Apple II PLUS, demonstrating that fairly sophisticated programs can be created using simple code.

There is no reason to be limited to the electronic flashcard approach which usually consists of multiple choice or fill in the blank drills in which the student types a single letter or word. BASIC handles *string-matching,* the comparison of groups of words such as sentences, very well. Imaginative courseware such as that described by Higgins and Johns (1984) can be created by taking advantage of BASIC's string-matching capabilities.

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READING SKILLS INSTRUCTION IN ESL

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Reading in ESL is usually taught via readers, books which are collections of interesting articles or stories at the linguistic level of the students. Reading skills exercises are found among the many tasks which students are assigned to complete after doing the reading. However, the reading skills are usually not presented in a logical or developmental way, but rather as they are needed for mastering a particular passage. These reading activities may give the students practice in applying their knowledge of reading skills, but that is *testing* skills, not *teaching* them.

An ideal ESL/EFL reading program would consist of four types of activities, equally important and necessary:

- Training in specific reading skills
- Practice on graded reading materials (intensive reading)
- Practice in speeded reading
- Extensive reading of self-selected materials for pleasure

Many reading programs include the last three, but reading skills instruction is often missing. Reading skills and comprehension processes are important enough to be taught in their own right. By focussing on specific skills, the ESL student can learn ways of gaining meaning in English, and these skills can be applied to all of his/her other reading activities.

Recent advances in psycholinguistics, cognitive psychology, and information processing theory have produced several notions which have revolutionized our conception of reading and what it means to understand. These notions support the idea that more emphasis should be placed on reading comprehension skills in the ESL classroom.

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Cognition vs. Metacognition

Metacognition was discussed by Flavell in the 1970's, and was related to reading comprehension by Brown (1980). Cognition implies having knowledge or skills. Metacognition refers to the awareness and conscious control of knowledge and skills (Stewart and Tei 1983).

A mundane example of this is the skill of tying shoes. If you have ever tried to teach a child how to tie his shoes, you have experienced the difference between knowing and knowing about knowing. You know how to tie the shoes, but explaining the process to the child is another story. In the teaching of reading, you know you can read, but are you aware of the processes involved in reading& Are you conscious of what you do when you read? Do you articulate these processes to your students?

Studies have shown that students who learn to become *conscious of their own reading processes* become *more skillful readers* (Stewart and Tei 1983). This would seem to be especially true of adolescent and adult students, who are accustomed to employing formal operational reasoning in learning.

The Reading Process

Goodman (1973), Smith (1973), Spiro (1980), and many others have written about reading comprehension as an interactive constructive process, in which the reader samples the text, guesses the meaning, and confirms the guess through further sampling of the text.

Try this experiment. Stop! Before you read the sentences below, read these directions:

Read only sentence one. Try to guess what the story is about.

Then read sentence two. Continue to guess what it's about.

Read sentence three. How did your "comprehension" change as you read each sentence.

1. He plunked down $5.00 at the window.

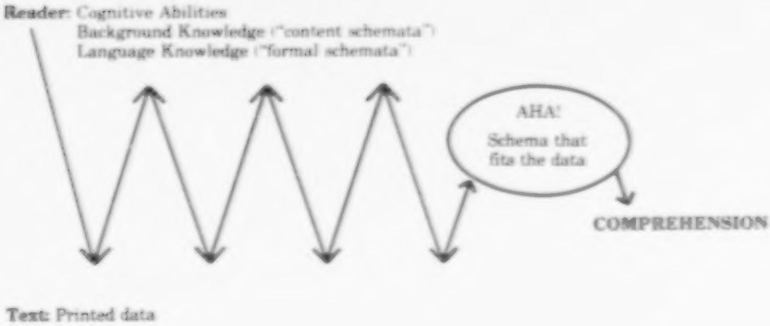
2. She tried to give him $2.50, but he refused to take it.

3. So she insisted on buying him a box of popcorn when they got inside.
(Lanzano and McKoy 1983)

As you sampled more of the text above, you checked your working hypothesis and made adjustments as necessary. As you made guesses, you were matching samples of the text with previous experiences and frameworks (schemata) in your mind. Schemata are frameworks which the reader brings to the text, and they are essential to comprehension (Rumelhart 1980). In other words, meaning isn't primarily in the text, but in what the reader constructs from a text relative to his/her own collection of schemata (Smith 1973).

This process can be represented in a diagram:

FIGURE 1
The Reading Comprehension Process


Reader: Cognitive Abilities
Background Knowledge ("content schemata")
Language Knowledge ("formal schemata")
AHA!
Schema that fits the data
COMPREHENSION
Text: Printed data

The reader samples the text, looks for a match, guesses, samples more of text, over and over again until a good match is made. Using schemata and reasoning skills to gain meaning is a concept-driven, "top-down" process. Using the text to gain meaning is a data-driven, "bottom-up" process. The two modes are used interactively by good readers to construct meaning.

Two types of schemata are indicated on the diagram: formal schemata (related to rhetorical structure) and content schemata (background knowledge of the content of the text). Carrell (1983), Bransford and Johnson (1972), and others have pointed out the importance of background knowledge in comprehension. ESL teachers have been encouraged to select texts which would minimize the effect of the lack of background knowledge (content shemata).

Eventually, however, our students will be faced with texts which are not so carefully controlled for background knowledge. They still must be able to feel confident that they have strategies for getting the meaning of what they read. As Rivers pointed out in 1978, many ESL students do not know *how* to read English texts. Helping students with the content schemata is necessary but not sufficient for helping them to improve their reading ability. ESL students need instruction to enable them to enhance both the top-down and bottom-up processing modes and to increase their repertoire of formal schemata. They need to learn how to sample the text. They need to be taught specific reading comprehension skills. This will result in a conscious awareness of the skills the students need to use and will give them a sense of mastery and confidence.

Reading Skills

There is more to reading skills than just skimming, scanning, and finding the main idea. The following list of skills is not meant to be exhaustive. Many skills overlap. Some are more fundamental than others.

1. Previewing. A quick once-over of the material to gain a hint of what is to come.
2. Predicting. Using knowledge of content and language to guess what's going to come next while you read.
3. Questioning. Asking questions in an inner dialog with the author.
4. Scanning. Rapidly finding specific information in a text.
5. Recognizing the topic. Finding out what you're reading about.
6. Stating main ideas. Knowing what the author is expressing about the topic.
7. Guessing the meaning of new words, using context clues and knowledge of word parts.
8. Recognizing patterns of organization. Seeing relationships between ideas, the over-all structure of a text.
9. Using signal words. Being able to see connections between ideas by the use of words such as first, then, later.
10. Drawing inferences. Reading between the lines; using evidence in the text to know things that are unstated.
11. Visualizing. Picturing, or actually drawing a picture or diagram of what is described in a text.
12. Paraphrasing. Re-stating texts in the reader's own words.
13. Using lexical clues to cohesion. Knowing the function of pronouns and other referents used between paragraphs.
14. Skimming. Quickly getting the gist of a passage or book.
15. Reading critically. Judging the accuracy of a passage with respect to what the reader already knows.
16. Drawing conclusions. Putting together information from several parts of the text and reducing or inducing additional ideas.
17. Summarizing. Shortening material by retaining and restating main ideas and leaving out details.
18. Reading faster. Necessary for improving comprehension because of the way the brain processes information.

19. Adjusting reading to suit purpose. Being able to choose speed and strategies needed for getting what is needed from a text.

These skills aren't new. But the approach which follows may be different for some teachers: lessons on reading skills can be presented as units of instruction. Teachers are accustomed to presenting units on the past perfect tense, or on partitives. Why not units on specific reading skills? If the students focus on one skill at a time, they can master the skill and then apply it in a variety of contexts.

When using this approach to teaching reading, the teacher presents a specific skill to the students with an explanation of the benefits to be derived from mastering the skill—a rationale for doing the exercises. Each skill is introduced at an uncomplicated level and then developed through a logical sequence of lessons. The emphasis is on the thinking processes involved with the goal of helping the students become consciously aware of the skill and how to monitor its use in getting meaning.

The Question of Levels

Because of their cognitive development, adolescent and adult students can benefit from lessons focussing on specific comprehension skills at all levels of English proficiency except the very basic beginning. The lessons shown in this paper are good for students at the intermediate level and up in terms of vocabulary and structure. If you are teaching beginners, the skills remain the same, but the vocabulary and grammar structures would obviously have to be simplified. (A few lessons for the upper beginner level have been included.)

Of all the skills to consider, there are a few which are essential for good comprehension:

1. Previewing
2. Identifying the topic/main idea
3. Recognizing relationships between ideas (patterns)

These are especially important for improving comprehension because they enable the reader to use top-down and bottom-up modes interactively.

Previewing

When readers preview a text before reading it, they immediately begin to guess content, and their minds begin the process of matching what they see in the preview with what they already know about the content. They begin to make assumptions about what they will find in the text. Questions are raised, and they read actively to seek the answers.

Previewing Sequence

The students should be given a reason for doing this work.

Rationale: Most people who are planning a trip look at maps to plan their route. This is a good practice in reading, too. Once you have a hint of what is to come, it is much easier to understand what you read. These activities will help you to make more accurage guesses about the meaning of the text.

Lesson 1

a. Bring in several pieces of mail. Ask students to make guesses about what is inside based on:
    - size, shape, and color of envelope
    - handwritten or typed
    - return address
    - postmark
    - thickness
    - other features

   Then open the letters and see if their guesses were accurate.

b. Bring in a collection of many types of books. Tell students they should choose one and they will have two or three minutes to find out as much as they can about the book. Give them the following checklist:
    - Read front and back covers.
    - Check author's name.
    - It is fiction or non-fiction?
    - Is it a textbook?
    - Look at the table of contents.
    - Check length.
    - Guess what it is about.

   Then tell the students to share this information with another student or with the whole class.

Lesson 2 Previewing a chapter or shorter selection.

a. Explain these steps to the students, using a class text.
    - Read the title.
    - Look at any pictures or diagrams.
    - Read any sub-headings.
    - Read the first paragraph, or first sentence in a shorter text.
    - Read the first line of each paragraph.
    - Read the last paragraph, or last sentence in a shorter text.

b. Hand out a short passage of about 400 words, followed by about ten questions. Allow the students two minutes to preview the passage according to the steps listed above. Then ask the students to answer the questions without reading the passage.

   Students can often answer more than half the questions correctly, which impresses them. They gain a great deal of confidence from this demonstration.

(Mikulecky 1983)

Benefit of Previewing

- Previewing allows the reader to establish the context, subject matter, and level of difficulty of what they will read.

- Having established the context, the student's background knowledge makes it possible to read for meaning, even if many of the words and syntactical structures are unfamiliar.
- Previewing encourages the student to develop the habit of a quick once-over before reading, which is the groundwork for learning to skim.
- Previewing leads the student to recognize that it is not necessary to know the meaning of every word to understand the text. *Previewing should be a regular activity in every class which requires the student to read.*

(Notice that you can use actual materials in teaching previewing. This is not an abstract exercise, but a skill which the student will use regularly as soon as they are aware of what a powerful strategy previewing can be.)

Topics

The first step in understanding a text is to establish the topic. In other words, what is the text *about*, and how do the details relate to the topic and to each other?

Good readers do this in their own language. ESL readers need help in transferring this ability to English. Unfortunately, many of our students are not good readers in their native language; it is essential therefore that we provide instruction in how to determine topics and generalizations.

The exercises which follow were designed to develop the thinking processes needed to quickly and accurately recognize the topic of a text. You can construct a set of similar lessons for your ESL students at any level, using vocabulary and passages appropriate for your students.

In order to appreciate the thinking processes involved in this sequence of lessons, you should do a few of them. (When using these lessons with students, it is best for them to work in pairs or small groups.)

1. *Finding the Topic (Thirty Lessons in Outlining, Level 1)*
Directions: Read each list of words below. In each list there is a word that tells about all the other words. Find the word and write it on the answer sheet.

1. pepper nutmeg cinnamon spices cloves ginger
2. beetle fly grasshopper insects bee mosquito

(Furbush et al. 1975:1)

Here are similar exercises using beginning level vocabulary.
Directions: In each group of words, there is a word or phrase that tells about all the other items. Find the word or phrase and circle it. The first one is done.

a. wash the clothes sweep the floor fix the radio
clean the kitchen [✓ jobs around the house]

b. basement living room house bathroom
dining room kitchen

2. *Stating the Topic (Thirty Lessons in Outlining, Advanced)*
Directions: On the answer sheet write a topic for each group of words.

1. Mississippi St. Lawrence Hudson Delaware
Potomac Rio Grande Sacramento

2. well spring reservoir lake river
(Ross and Culliton 1971: 4)

3. *Stating the topic and telling which item doesn't belong. (Thirty Lessons in Outlining, Advanced)*
Directions: Each list of words has one item which does not belong. Write the topic. Then cross out the word which does not belong.

1. sanctuary lair bridge citadel fortress
ghetto shelter

2. pediatrician internist obstetrician surgeon
psychologist general practitioner
(Ross and Culliton 1971:5)

4. *Dividing a list of words into two topics*
Directions: Each list of words can be divided into two topics. Then write the words under the right topic. Work with another student.

a. chair table book bookcase magazine bed
desk letter newspaper chest

b. noun clouds sun adjective star verb
moon pronoun planet article
(Mikulecky 1983)

5. *Recognizing groups of sentences which can or cannot be considered paragraphs due to the relationship between the sentences.*
Directions: Read each group of sentences. If you think the sentences in a group would make a paragrpah, put a check (✓) in margin. Be ready to explain your choices.

A. The president made an important speech on Sunday.
Seven Russian astronauts went to the moon.
Dr. Smith won an award for his excellent work at the City Hospital.
The movie was exciting, but it was much too long.

B. Music is important in every part of the world.
Every country has music for holidays and for special times like birthdays.
People also sing songs at weddings and play music at funerals.
Children all around the workd learn to sing and play the songs of their country.

C. Mary was very busy at work today.
In the morning, her computer broke down and she had to call the repairman.
The phone rang all day long, and her secretary went home with a headache at noon.
And Mary had an important meeting with her boss at 4:00.

6. *Recognizing the topics of paragraphs*

Directions: Read the paragraph. Then read the three possible topics. One topic is too general, one is too specific, and one is just right. Work with another student, and mark the answers.

a. Some students of English as a Second Language do not want to read novels. Novels are not true, so these students think that they cannot learn from them. But students can learn a lot from reading novels. They can learn how to use English in everyday life. Reading novels and stories is very important for ESL students.

____________ novels
____________ every day life
____________ why read novels

b. The Dam family came to Bostom from Vietnam in 1980. The five members of the family were: Mr. Dam, Mrs. Dam, Cung, Foung, and Mio. They found an apartment on a nice street, and made new friends. The three children went to a school near by. Mr. and Mrs. Dam found jobs and began to learn English. They were happy to be living together in Boston.

____________ living in Boston
____________ The Dam family in Boston
____________ five members in the family

Some of the benefits of teaching lessons on topics are:

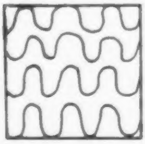
- The format of these lessons makes them useful for reviewing and reinforcing vocabulary already presented, introducing new words in context, and reinforcing semantic associations that the students must develop in English.
- The sequence need not take a lot of time. The students catch on quickly. The teacher should be careful to move on as soon as the class is ready to do so.
- The lessons can be individualized.
- The students begin to develop the habit of asking questions while they read. This helps them pay attention.
- You can find lessons like these in the books you have in your classroom. Or, *you can make up your own*. The lessons based on sorting words and stating the topics of lists of words are very easy to write. As for paragraphs, they can be taken from books, newspapers, magazines, or written by you. In other words, you can take actual materials and use them to teach reading skills.

Patterns of Organization

After the reader has an idea of the topic of the text, the next important question is "How has the author organized the ideas in the text?" Once the organizational pattern is apparent, the reader can begin to predict what will come next.

Every culture has a somewhat different way of organizing ideas. The relationships between ideas which are taken for granted in one's native language don't always hold in a second language (Kaplan 1966). Studies by Meyer (1977) and others have shown that ***readers understand and remember best those materials which are organizationally clear to them***. You can provide your ESL students with a very powerful tool if you introduce them to the common patterns of organization used in English prose, and if you also teach them the words which signal those patterns. Then they can consciously use the organizational pattern to make sense of what they are reading. The paragraphs and exercises in this section come from *Tactics in Reading, Line by Line,* and *Reading and Thinking in English.*

A good way to introduce the notion of patterns of organization and its usefulness is to present these drawings to the students. Allow them about one minute to study the set, and then ask the students to reproduce the drawings from memory.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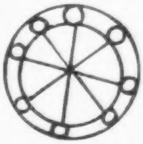
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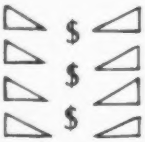

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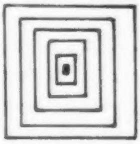
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The conclusion is almost always the same: Number 2 is the most difficult one to remember. Why? Because there is no pattern.

After a discussion of how important patterns are in helping us to learn and remember, the students will be ready for an introduction to a few common organization patterns in English. Four of the simplest and most common are:

- Time Order (chronology, sequence)
- Comparison/Contrast
- Simple listing of related facts
- Cause and effect

What follows are ***sample lessons***. Each pattern should be introduced and practiced in a developmental fashion. Some patterns are more difficult for the students than other, and the teacher should be sensitive to how much practice is needed in order for the students to feel they have mastered a particular pattern.

Patterns of Organization – Time Order

The following words are clues or signal words often used when writing in chronological or time order:

first
next
last
in the end
dates
soon
later
finally
eventually
times
later on
in the meantime
afterwards
not long after
at the end
at last
right away
in the beginning

Directions: The paragraphs below are written in time order. Underline the signal words and then make a list of the events in the order in which they happened. The signal words are already italicized in paragraph 1.)

1. Maria is doing very well in her career at the art museum. *First,* she worked in the museum gift shop on week-ends. *After that,* she became the manager of the shop. *Next,* she was an assistant to the museum director for seven years. *Finally,* last year, she became director of the new modern art section of the museum. Maria is very pleased with her success in her work.

   Topic: Maria's success at the museum.

   Signals: First *What happened?* worked in gift shop

2. The surprise birthday party for Tom was a big success. First, Tom's brother Joe took him out to dinner. Then, some of Tom's friends went to his house. They put up balloons and other decorations. Later Tom's best friend brought cake and ice cream. After that, about fifteen more friends arrived at Tom's house. Finally, Joe brought Tom home. Everyone shouted, "SURPRISE!" What a good time they all had!

   Topic:

   Signal words: *Events:*

3. Henry needed a new passport for his trip to Paris. So on Saturday morning, he tried to get one. Early in the morning, he went to the post office to fill out an application. Then he went to the photography shop to have his picture taken. After that, he went to the bank to get the money the passport fee. Later, he took the passport application, the pictures, and the money to the post office. But by then it was closed for the day. Finally, Henry decided to go home and try again another day.

   Topic:

   Signal words: *What happened?*

Patterns of Organization – Comparison/Contrast

A. Comparison of a Mercedes-Benz and a Volkswagen.

How are they alike?
1. Both have gasoline or diesel engines.
2. Both have 4 wheels.
3. Both are used for personal transportation.
4. Both are made in Germany.

How are they different?
1. Cost of each.
2. Cost of fuel and upkeep.
3. Size.
4. Status.
5. Comfort.

B. Comparison of your country and the United States.

How are they alike?
1.

How are they different?
1.

(Mikulecky 1983)

C. This paragraph compares two animals, a whale and an elephant. Read to find out how they are alike and how they are different. Fill in the table below. Use the italicized words to help you.

The elephant and the whale may seem very *different*, but they are really *a lot alike*. The elephant is a land animal, and the whale lives in the sea. And, of course, the two animals are very different in appearance. but they are actually very *similar*. They are the largest land and sea animals alive today. *Both* whales and elephants breathe air and bear their young alive. And, sadly, people are killing *both* whales and elephants. So someday these giant creatures may *share* the same fate: extinction.

Similarities
How are elephants and whales alike?

Differences
How are elephants and whales different?

Here are other words often used as signals of a comparison or a contrast. Write "S" next to words which signal similarity, and write "D" next to words which signal difference.

but
different
however
like
contrary to
faster than
rather
bigger
on the contrary
as
in the same way
instead
yet
similarly
on the other hand

(Mikulecky 1983)

Patterns of Organization—Simple Listing

In the paragraph below, the author wants to tell several facts or ideas relating to the same topic.

People have ***many*** reasons for learning a second language. *Some* need a new language because they plan to travel or do business in another country. *Others* learn a new language in order to go to a university. *Many* people learn a new language because they have left their home land and are living in a new country. And *a few* learn a second language just for fun.

The *italicized* words are signals that the author gives to let the reader know that s/he is writing a list of related facts.

Topic: Reasons for learning a second language

Signals:	Facts:
Some	For travel
Others	For study
Many	For living in a new country
a few	For fun

Directions. In the next paragraphs, the signal words are italized. Fill in the topic and the facts below.

1. Last week, Dr. Smith sent a memo to his nurse, Mrs. Ruth. He was not happy with her work. *First,* he said she was late almost every day. He *also* said that she used the phone for personal calls. He stated that she talked too loud and disturbed the other doctors in the office. And Dr. Smith *also* complained that Mrs. Ruth was very rude to the patients. *Finally,* he suggested that she should plan to look for a new job.

Topic:

Signals: Facts:

2. Industrialized countries have ***many*** characteristics in common. They *all* have large cities where most of the people live in crowded conditions. They *also* have problems with air pollution. *In addition*, they need to find new sources of energy. ***And a last common*** concern is that they need to develop ways of keeping their factories modern and up to date.

Topic:

Signals: Facts:

Now you should be able to make a list of the words which are used to signal the simple listing pattern. Write at least ten signal words here:

1. also
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Patterns of Organization – Cause and Effect

When the author wants to explain the cause or causes of an event or situation, or show the effects of some event or situation, the writer organizes the text in a cause-effect pattern and uses signal words to inform the reader of this.

Exercise 1 Read the following statements and identify the cause and effect in each sentence. Circle the signal words.

Example:

Rainy weather can lead to an *increase in the number of auto accidents.*
cause *effect*

1. Many plane crashes are the result of human error.
2. Too much rich food can cause indigestion.
3. Epidemics are often the result of crowded living conditions.
4. A lack of exercise is one cause of poor health.
5. A poor diet sometimes causes permanent brain damage.
6. Using a radio in the bath tub can result in death from electrical shock.
7. Dirty air can lead to an increased rate of heart attacks.
8. Failure in college is often due to poor reading skills.

Now write a list of the words that are used to signal a cause-effect pattern:

1. result

Identifying Patterns

Directions: Here are four paragraphs about Sir Isaac Newton. Read each paragraph, and then choose one sentence from the extra sentences below and write the letter for that sentence next to the paragraph in which it would fit best. One of the sentences will not be used.

Paragraph 1

Sir Isaac Newton worked on many important scientific problems. First, there was his development of the laws of motion. He also made important discoveries about optics and the nature of color. His other work included ideas about astronomy, chemistry, and logic. And finally, he produced the Principia, a book which explained his law of universal gravitation.

Paragraph 2

Isaac Newton was born in England in 1642. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge University, in 1661 at the age of 18. In 1665, the plague swept through England, and Newton left school and returned to his family home in Woolsthorpe. It was there that he began most of his best work. He published his famous book, the Principia, in 1682. And in 1699 he was made the director of the English Mint. Sir Isaac Newton died in 1727 and he is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Paragraph 3

Although the two men were both geniuses, Isaac Newton and Albert Einstein have very little else in common. True, they both did their most important and famous work before the age of 26. But there are great differences between them. "Proper behavior" was most important to Newton, while Einstein liked to be different. Newton spent his later years working for the government, while Einstein spent his entire life doing science.

Paragraph 4

Newton did most of his best work during his stay in Woolsthrope from 1665 to 1668. Many writers have tried to find out what caused him to produce all of those great ideas in such a short time. Was it the peace and quiet of the small town that caused his creative powers to increase? The causes may never be known, but the effects of Newton's genius are still felt today.

Extra Sentences

1. Some people think that a falling apple caused Newton to think of the law of universal gravitation.

2. Present-day physicists have discovered limits to the mechanical universe which Newton described.

3. In addition, he invented differential and integral calculus.

4. They say Isaac Newton never smiled, but Albert Einstein had a great sense of humor.

5. In fact, by age 26, he had already completed most of his best scientific work.

Conclusions

This paper has described an approach to reading instruction which is based on teaching specific reading comprehension skills rather than passages in readers (teaching process rather than product). By bringing the students to conscious awareness of the processes involved in understanding what they read, you can provide them with a sense of confidence in their ability to read anything that comes their way.

Examples were shown of the kinds of lessons you can design to teach units which focus on specific reading skills. These lessons are not difficult to write, and furthermore, the ones you make up, using real materials, can be the most effective for your class.

This skill focus accomplishes the most if it is presented in the context of a total ESL reading program which includes intensive reading, extensive reading, and practice in reading rate improvement.

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LISTENING ACTIVITIES FOR SMALL GROUPS

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Why Listening Activities Are Important

The listening and speaking skills in second language teaching and learning have been of particular concern for the past forty years. Listening as a special focus apart from its automatic inclusion in every speech act has been an important topic for language educators for the past ten years. Recent research has stressed the great necessity for teachers to provide special opportunities for second language learners to develop their listening skills. Students need the chance to sharpen listening skills in contexts that do not require them to respond orally every sixty seconds, contexts that do not continually divert their attention from listening to speaking. A primary argument that favors this emphasis on listening derives from a comparison of the second language learner and the native speaker as a learner of the same language. Asher (1977) points out that the child of six has had 17,520 hours of listening to that language (a conservative estimate at eight hours daily). The college major in that language who has completed twelve advanced courses probably has had 780 classroom and laboratory contact hours with the language but may not have had additional contact hours. Even though most of these hours have probably been spent in listening, it comes as no surprise if that student is not functioning at a very advanced level of proficiency. Even if we may say that the older learner brings much to the language learning process with the ability to analyze and synthesize the working rules of the new language and with more advanced knowledge of vocabulary concepts and real-life situations, there can surely be little comparison between 17,520 hours of listening and 780. The implication, then, is that students need to spend more class time on listening activities.

Further, most students find listening much easier than speaking, particularily in beginning classes where many students are very apprehensive about speaking. A greater emphasis on listening skills can make students feel more comfortable, and can facilitate a reduction of fear which can facilitate better performance.

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Then it follows that students who perform better will feel more positive about their second language study and about their own abilities. The value of positive reinforcement through successful performance in the language cannot be overestimated.

We have noted the psychological benefits to the students to be gained from a greater emphasis on listening in the classroom and the greater growth in listening skills with the dedication of more time to aural activities. In addition, it is reasonable to assume that greater growth in the other language skills can occur when there is more initial emphasis on the development of the listening skill. If one accepts the assumption that the student can retain more from successful listening than from less successful listening and speaking combinations, then there should be a greater knowledge base to serve as material for positive transfer for subsequent performance in reading, speaking and writing. Thus, there are several benefits which may accrue to students who have the chance to do more listening in their second language classrooms.

Why Some Listening Acitvities Should be in Small Groups

Students can be given more listening opportunities in a number of ways. The teacher can be sure to use the target language as much as possible, and conduct more listening activities for the class as a whole. Students can also conduct their own listening activities in small groups. Certainly the principles of andragogy support this notion (Knowles 1973). Peer teaching usually results in a higher degree of involvement for students, and that involvement can result from the students' directing their own listening activities. Further, greater self-confidence in the use of the language can result from their being given this kind of opportunity. The student who can successfully present material in the target language for peer listening activities is likely to develop more positive feelings about the language and the ability to use it.

In this context, the students are assuming responsibility not only for their own learning, but also for that of others in their group. As noted, this circumstance can result in greater involvement and greater self-confidence on the part of students; but there also is another possible by-product that this author has found most interesting in her own implementation of small-group listening activities. If students find that their peers have difficulty understanding them they pay much more careful attention to any unusual features in their pronunciation, and tend to regularize these featrues much more rapidly than they do in response to their teacher's correction in the course of a large-group activity. They are getting specific individualized assistance in pronunciation from their peers, and are usually positively disposed toward this help and integrate the suggested changes.

The individualization carries over for the listeners, too. They also can receive a high degree of attention to their personal difficulties in the framework of any listening activity. They can ask for repetitions; they can ask questions; and they can ask for adjustments of speed and volume. While some listening activities, normally those that are teacher-led, should be less controlled by students as are real-life listening presentations, it is highly advantageous that some activities be within the realm of student control so that individual difficulties can receive attention. The small-group format answers that need.

Generally speaking, students are more motivated to pay attention in the small-group setting. Nothing fascinates like one's peers and the social undertones of the small group; even students who are properly oriented to the necessary task focus (as all should be) still derive great pleasure, and thus motivation, from the format that puts them in a close work situation with a few classmates. Further, the variation in format from the usual teacher-directed activity can of itself be motivating and thus facilitate higher attention levels and possible greater learning.

Finally, this variation in format from thirty students listening to the teacher to three students (or even only one) listening to another student allows for a more natural range of listening experience in the second-language classroom. In real-life the second-language learner experiences the need to listen to both natural and artificially reproduced voices, to function as one listener in a crowd, and to listen in a small-group or pair situation. Thus, the classroom should also afford the student all these different kinds of listening experiences.

Considerations for Effectiveness

As with any sort of small-group activity, students need to be prepared to participate responsibly. They need to understand exactly what they are to do and the steps in the procedure might well be listed on the board or handed to each group leader in written form. They need the usual orientation to the material with explanation of any terms or concepts that may be unfamiliar. They need clear instructions on how their groups are to be formed and obviously this is most easily accomplished by having them work with those by whom they are already seated.

Perhaps most important, however, is their orientation to the importance of the task. They need to know why they are doing the activity, what they can expect to derive from it, and that it is a learning experience and not entertainment. A good way to ensure this last point is to illustrate what learnings from this activity will be dealt with in the subsequent whole-group wrap-up and in subsequent evaluation activities. With the proper preparation, students can indeed work effectively in small groups.

Formats

The material to be included in any small-group listening activity a teacher prepares has to be largely familiar to the students and its highlights should be quickly reviewed beforehand to maximize student performance in the activity. Any such material can be treated in a number of different formats for listening, however. The teacher need only select a format that he/she feels will be effective and appealing to his/her students.

There are a number of common formats for listening which work well for small groups.

A. *Picture Matching*

In this format each student pair or group is given a picture sheet or sheets comprising a dozen numbered squares of small line drawings, and a sheet of two (or more) scripts of ten numbered statements each about the pictures. Then a student in the pair or group reads a script while the partner or group looks at the picture. The listeners are to decide which picture each statement refers to (if any) and on their own answer sheet write that picture number by the statement number. At the end of the script they discuss the answers. Then the next student reads a script to his/her partner or group and the process is repeated.

B. *Manipulatives*

In this format each student pair or group is given one or more packets of small pictures of pertinent objects, and a sheet of two or more scripts of statements about the objects. A student reads one of the scripts to the group. The statements refer to a scene which the listeners are to recreate by manipulating or arranging the object pictures as described in the statements they are hearing. At the end of the script they can compare their results with one another and with statements. Then the next student reads a script to his/her partner or group and the process is repeated.

C. *Commands*

In this format each student pair or group receives two or more scripts of commands of the sort that can be carried out at their seats. Each partner or group member takes a turn reading a script of orders to the others, who carry them out. At the end of each script they discuss the items if they were unsure of any. Then the next student reads a script to his/her partner or group and the activity is repeated.

D. *Situtations*

Each student pair or group receives a packet of situation cards. A student gives a monologue appropriate to the situation which appears on the card drawn from the packet without letting the others see the card. The others listen and guess at the problem situation. Then the second student gives a monologue for his/her situation and the process continues.

E. *Logic*

Each student pair or group receives several simple logical thinking problems on cards or a sheet in the target language. A student reads the problem on the card (or the first problem on the sheet) to the group. The listeners may hear the problem as many times as they like but are not to read it. The group gradually solves each problem together and the next is read by another student.

F. *True-False*

Each student pair or group is given on a sheet or cards several scripts of ten or so true-false statements that involve general knowledge. Each student has a turn reading a script to the others, who listen and write true or false on an answer sheet. At the conclusion of each script the students discuss the responses. Then the next student reads a script to his/her partner or group and the process is repeated.

G. *Paragraph True-False*

In this format each student pair or group receives a script of several paragraphs in the target language, each with a subsequent set of true-false statements. Each student, in turn, reads a paragraph and its statements to the group. The listeners record their true or false responses on a separate sheet, and at the end of each segment the group discusses the answers. Then the next student reads a script to his/her partner or group and the process is repeated.

Summary

Successful listening is a critical underpinning to one's learning and performance in a new language. Teachers of second languages need to include more listening activities in their class routines, and they also need to consider a greater variety of formats and class-organizational styles for those activities. The small-group format is not often utilized for listening activities and yet has much to recommend it. There are a significant number of psychological and pedagogical benefits to having students carry out listening activities in small groups. A number of the commonly employed listening formats work well in small groups, and many activity formats described in recent second-language publications are suitable for adaptation to both the listening skill and to the small group.

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PART V
THE NEW HORIZON: PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS

INTRODUCTION

As TESOL matures as a professional organization, we, the members, are broadening our horizons and interests. New special interest sections are forming–teacher education, program administration and computer assisted language learning–and existing special interest sections are expanding their focus to encompass the multitude of topics that allow the organization to remain an ever-changing, vital entity. The papers included in this section represent these new interests. They deal with issues that are vital to the needs of an expanding ESL/EFL audience. They also bear witness to the maturity of TESOL as an amalgam of concerned educators who are willing to face the "hard" issues that challenge our collective intellectual strengths.

To begin, John J. Staczek and Susan J. Carkin discuss the role of intensive English programs (IEP's) with American universities. Their paper offers a review of current practices and highlights the lack of consistent policy among various universities in the United States. Some of the issues that they cover are the lack of esteem and faculty status for the IEP instructors as well as the inconsistencies in terms of treatment of the programs, their faculty and the international students which they serve. The paper stresses that there is a pressing need to dignify the role of ESL professionals and IEP programs on American campuses.

Martha C. Pennington's paper on effective administration of ESL programs follows. Using an administrative model developed by Katz, she discusses the three types of skills essential for good administration: technical skills, human skills and conceptual skills. She shows how these skills can be used in ESL so that administrators can successfully orchestrate an effective ESL program.

Naguib Greis is concerned with yet another professional area–the issue of training non-native ESOL teachers in American teacher education programs. The paper begins with a discussion of the needs and problems faced by this population. Then Greis describes a plan which is designed to help train non-native ESOL teachers by moving from a very structured start to the freedom of supervised classroom teaching.

Ellen Sarkisian's paper deals with another area of concern and interest for those involved in teacher training: the preparation of foreign teaching assistants who teach a predominantly native English-speaking student audience. She explains how a videotape program has been devised showing successful teaching strategies, and how foreign teaching assistants observe these tapes and attempt to incorporate these skills into their own teaching.

The last paper switches focus from an American English environment to one where an indigenous form of English exists. Pamela Hemmick Ekong reviews a study designed to ascertain what variety of Nigerian English speech is acceptable as a model for perspective English teachers and what factors influence these attitudes. Her findings show that the strongest factors in acceptability are those relating to the speaker's voice and delivery. Ekong's paper points out that new Englishes are evolving, and that the profession must begin to evaluate their impact on our teaching and learning assumptions.

INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAM FIT IN TRADITIONAL ACADEMIC SETTINGS: PRACTICES AND PROMISE

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INTRODUCTION

Within the last four or five years, our profession has witnessed the growing concern of ESOL instructors in higher education over their working conditions. The "Standard Bearer" of the *TESOL Newsletter* has featured several columns on such issues as the ESL Employment Survey, collective bargaining, and resume writing for the ESL job market. Anecdotal evidence of job dissatisfaction is also found in almost every *TN* since the 1980 convention in San Francisco, where the resolution to study employment conditions in depth was passed by the Legislative Assembly. But perhaps the most significant and revealing statement about our profession as it now exists in American universities and colleges appeared in a November 1982 issue of the ***Chronicle of Higher Education***. The article reported on a group of thirty ESL instructors at American University who were granted the right to unionize. During a thirteen day hearing before the National Labor Relations Board, their institution challenged their right to become a bargaining unit, citing the *Yeshiva* case – the Supreme Court's 1980 decision which "held that faculty members at that institution were not eligible for collective bargaining protection because they were managerial employees" (Perry 1982: 28). The instructors prevailed, however, arguing that "they were not managerial

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employees since they took no part in the university's system of faculty governance and had no control over such matters as hiring and firing, the budget, admissions policies, grading policies or class size" (Perry 1982: 28).

The unionization of this group of ESL professionals clearly informs those of us in the profession, as well as the faculty and administrators of our institutions, that ESL is truly different from the rest of academia - a notion that many of them have held for a long time based on some easily observable distinctions between our ESL programs and other programs and departments in the academic mainstream:

> (1) Perhaps the most obvious difference between ESL programs and university departments is that there is no ESL major in which the international student can graduate.
>
> (2) Most ESL programs do not grant academic credit, unlike other academic programs in higher education. Because credit-bearing status is not an issue, there is little incentive for an institution to seek and hire staff with specialized ESL or L2 acquisition training – especially if the program is conveniently located so that professors with degrees in other fields which are experiencing declining enrollments can be used to teach ESL to international students.
>
> (3) Because ESL instructors are usually Ll speakers of the language they teach, the profession and the qualifications for teaching in it are often viewed as gratuitous by our colleagues and administrators.
>
> (4) ESL programs are often preadmission in the institution's view; that is, they are prerequisite for study in the student's major and so are seen as comparable to remedial or enabling programs in English and mathematics, for example, for American students.
>
> (5) The isolation of the ESL instructors from the policies and procedures which apply to other academic departments was explained in the *Chronicle* article as being the result of "a relatively young field" that "has yet to gain the status of the established disciplines" (Perry 1982: 28).

We could perhaps more easily list the ways in which the field of ESL is like others in the academy, but we would not be any closer to an explanation of the discipline for those unfamiliar with it, or to working toward solving the problems peculiar to the profession at this point in its history. Nevertheless, we feel that some kind of statement about the ESL field as it is perceived by higher education is important in order to inform the policymakers – all those who teach and have the managerial status the Supreme Court referred to in its *Yeshiva* decision. More than informing the uninformed, we believe there is evidence now available to provide a perspective on our profession as it is esteemed by our institutions. Some recent studies have dealt with the relationship between American higher education and the international students it serves. These studies provide a view of ESL programs as one of many in which international students participate. We think this larger context brings more light to the academic and professional concerns peculiar to our field. And, although we could select any one issue affecting our professional livelihood as a point of entry for our discussion, we have chosen to look at intensive English programs (IEPs) within the institution. While the structure and goals of IEPs vary widely among institutions, their similarities allow us an objective point of departure for the discussion of some of the broader issues as we noted in the beginning of our paper. To understand the relationship between IEPs and the administering institutions, it is necessary to step back even farther and look at the institutions and their accomodation of international students and international education in general, a viewpoint resulting from studies sponsored by the American Council on Education (ACE) (1982) and the Institute of International Education (IEE) (Goodwin and Nacht 1983).

Practices

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between intensive English programs (IEPs) and the American colleges and universities which design, structure, staff and administer them in diverse ways. While we have tried to review this relationship in terms of "practice," that is, the formulation and application of policies at the institutional level, we have more often found it necessary to consider the effects of the absence of policy and the inability to participate in the policy-making process, two not-unrelated issues that have a major impact on the IEP and ESOL professionals who teach in them. Two reports have recently been published which are critical of American higher education for its lack of policy on a number of issues which deal with the education of increasing numbers of international students. While we consider how institutional policy and its absence have consequences for all levels of programs, personnel and curricula, including both international and American students, we pay special attention to how policy formulation or the lack of it affects IEPs and ESL professionals working in them.

In 1982 the ACE published the report of its specially-appointed committee headed by Richard Berendzen. Titled *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy*, and subtitled, *Toward an Agenda for Action*, it is often referred to as the Berendzen report. The committee studied numerous publications and documents, among them the IIE's *Open Doors 1979/80* and various National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) publications, in order to arrive at their findings and recommendations. They determined that international students have a major impact on the "fabric of higher education" (ACE 1982: viii), an impact that will probably escalate given the increasing numbers of international students who study at the post-secondary level in American schools. The United States, unlike other leading host countries in which international students pursue their higher education, does not have a central, national mechanism which can exercise control over international student admissions into our educational institutions. The ACE Report described our country's national posture toward international students as "the aggregate of actions taken by the several state systems of higher education and individual institutions" (1982: 50). Based on enrollment trends alone, there is a clear need for our institutions to decide how they will address these increasing numbers, to study how the education of these students is related to the central mission of the institution, and to determine the effect of these matriculated students on the academic and fiscal policies of the institutions. In short, our absence of educational policy toward international students at the national level requires that the educational institutions accept the responsibility for "thinking through sound strategies for dealing with international students" (1982: 27).

The committee's recommendations were aimed at two different sectors of the "higher education enterprise" (1982: 6): national associations and agencies, including professional organizations, and individual institutions and university systems. At the institutional level, one of the committee's findings was that a wide range of policy exists in admitting, providing curricula for and accomodating international students, "ranging from the comprehensive to the non-existent, and programs from the carefully-designed and well-administered to the ad hoc and expedient" (1982: 3). Their first recommendation was that institutions serving international students should develop sound policies to guide the institution and the students toward a "constructive and productive relationship" (1982: 7). The recommendation also called for a formal statement of institutional commitment to a program of self-regulation such as that advocated by NAFSA in its *Principles of International Educational Exchange* (1983). (NAFSA has developed a mechanism for voluntary self-study by institutions which is in its pilot year of testing.)

A second report, published by the Institute of International Education (IIE) in 1983 and titled *Absence of Decision: Foreign Students in American Colleges and Universities* (Goodwin and Nacht 1983), corroborated most of the findings and recommendations of the ACE report, but viewed them as issues which require study and attention at the institutional, and in some cases, national and professional levels. The authors, Goodwin and Nacht, interviewed approximately 183 administrators, faculty members, government officials and others involved with international students and higher education. They conducted most of their college and university interviews in three states which have large and rapidly increasing numbers of international students: Ohio, Florida and California. They also visited two institutions outside these states which "have" a well-known commitment to international programs: Columbia and Michigan State universities" (1983: v). What they found was that "while some institutions have a superb command of the human and organizational requirements essential to serve the needs of the foreign student, they are in a clear minority" (1983: 36). The IIE report identified issues for which individual institutions should formulate policy, including numbers, quotas, pricing, special fees and programs for international students.

The authors of *Absence of Decision* interviewed only three people in IEPs, two of them program directors. The only mention of the role of such programs in higher eduction was in the context that IEPs are one type of special program provided for international students exclusively, with the implication that this type of program should be related to the central mission of the institution. The authors noted that "significant numbers of foreign students require special language training – either standard ESL or some more sophisticated device for improving communication skills" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 31). Although the perspective of the ESL professional is conspicuously absent from their study, Goodwin and Nacht did conduct numerous interviews with other faculty and administrators on campuses. With their journalistic style of inquiry, they were able to investigate and offer brief explanations for the attitudes toward international students expressed by administrators and faculty members – the policy-makers in higher education. While the study does not have quantifiable data, the information on the attitudes is extremely valuable and warrants further study by ESL professionals, for these are the attitudes that are often brought to bear on the discussion of policy issues by those who are in a position to effect policy.

Goodwin and Nacht reported that university presidents in general had not thought much about the presence of international students in their colleges and universities. It was a concern that the chief executive officer delegated to other administrators, namely, the provost or vice-president for academic affairs and the deans. Administrators who were involved in admission, registration and the bursar's office "tended to regard foreign students as a time-consuming and demanding procedural and statistical irritant" (1983: 8). However, those administrators involved with the student affairs side of administration were generally highly enthusiastic advocates of international students on campus.

Among faculty members interviewed, the authors identified three groups, each with generally distinctive attitudes toward the international students in their classrooms and programs. Faculty who were involved in technical assistance programs with overseas extension and those who were former Peace Corps volunteers were committed to international educational exchange. A second group of faculty perceived their own areas of expertise to be dependent on international student enrollments in their programs. Some of this group of faculty worked in programs such as agriculture and hotel management which had grown beyond the U. S. demand for them. They also welcomed the international students. In other areas such as engineering, physics and computer science, the international students were appreciated as educational consumers and as laboratory or research assistants, but they were often regarded as "fillers" in a temporarily depressed program which was expected to recover and eventually become "re-Americanized." Within this group the authors reported that some of the faculty "seemed to feel shame at their dependence on foreign students, and that having to recruit abroad dented morale" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 9). A third group of faculty was that having no real self-interest in international students, even though some taught in programs of international studies. The authors noted, to their surprise, that "there was a prevailing apathy, and, in some cases, hostility to the foreign presence" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 9). It was frequently observed by faculty that foreign students "retard the educational process and are an annoyance to be minimized" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 9). When questioned about their reasons for negative feelings toward the international students in their classrooms, faculty usually referred to the amount and types of additional help needed by the students and the "inscrutability" of such students, citing examples of passive classroom behavior, negotiating behaviors with grades, and obsequious attitudes toward authority. Goodwin and Nacht concluded that there were strong feelings behind some of the complaints and unflattering comments about international students in American classrooms which emphasize the need "for accurate information about and reasoned attention to the subject from all concerned" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 10).

It is tempting to speculate that the negative attitudes of some of the faculty might be favorably affected by the process of policy-formulation which should be an educational experience involving the expertise from academic and administrative units of the university. The ACE Report, which did not investigate faculty attitudes directly, nevertheless noted the effect of not involving faculty in policy formulation toward international students: When "faculty members are presented with international students who are deficient in English or whose credentials have been misevaluated, they will react negatively. If they find teaching a growing number of international students begins to consume disproportionate amounts of time, their reaction will be obvious" (1982: 53). It seems clear to us that negative faculty attitudes toward international students in the university classrooms can be seen as a reaction to an enrollment or standards situation in which the faculty are not involved. The solution proposed by the ACE Report, with which we concur, is for concerned faculty and administrators to participate in every step of policy formulation and implementation.

Among the best-informed professionals working in colleges and universities are those who are trained in second language acquisition, applied linguistics, and English composition, who teach and advise international students on a daily basis, and who understand the cultural implications of international student behavior: the ESL professional. Within the academy, however, with its traditional hierarchical structure of departments and tenured ranks, the ESL professionals generally find their opportunities to influence institutional policy and to contribute to the development and welfare of colleagues, international students and themselves severely limited by a number of factors which isolate them from the functioning of the institution but which are inherent in the composition of nearly all IEPs.

Let us examine what the implications would be when a college or university decides to open its programs to international students and develops an ESL program to prepare them for further academic study. First, let us define what we mean by "program". A program is not a course or courses, is not an instructor or instructors, is not an unstructured curriculum without a mission, a set of goals or objectives. Nor is it a collection of textbooks, tapes and films. A program, as we define it, is an administrative and academic enterprise with a comprehensive mission to provide ESL training, using qualified professionals in a logical and developing sequence of courses to guide the student to a level of mastery of the English language that will lead to eventual success in a degree or certificate program in an academic institution. This applies equally to ESL as it does to any other discipline: foreign language, English, history, accounting, chemistry. To offer less is to demean all disciplines, all professions and all practitioners. The unusual aspect of the ESL program is that it consists of professionals who use the medium of English to teach the English language for mastery. It is unlike chemistry in that chemistry uses the medium of English to teach about chemical processes and the metalanguage of the discipline.

We assume, for this paper, that the IEP we describe is one that has been judged to be a college or university program that exists within the accepted hierarchical structure. Before any decision can be made with regard to its placement in an existing academic program or department, there is a need for decision about its existence as a budgetary entity. As a budgetary entity it places certain demands on the university in terms of faculty, facilities and support mechanisms. We accept as given the fact that, almost universally, IEPs generate dollars from tuition in much the same way as do regular academic programs whether or not the IEPs are credit-bearing. Specific differences relate to (a) whether the student should have to pay tuition at a rate equivalent to the hourly rate of regular students (out-of-state tuition rates for public universities and the standard fees in private universities), (b) whether dollar generation follows a standard FTE (full-time equivalency) formula, and (c) whether tuition charged produces a per capita or program surplus. The question of surplus is of greater concern in the non-credit mode in which fees are usually charged on the basis of cost for services, overhead and what is loosely called "program development". These costs are all built into a program. However, following the established rate structure within a university, a program need not concern itself with costs and surpluses because a budget will have been provided for the entity. In many non-credit, quasi-academic, and even independent programs, it is the surplus generated that provides for program and faculty development. If the IEP is a line item in a general university budget, one consideration is surely to be how the program competes with others for additional resources. That is an issue of administration. Suffice it to say that with a line item IEP budget in the general university budget, there are certain expectations with regard to the number of administrative positions, faculty positions and other staff positions. Enrollment and budget projections generally provide the operational guidelines for assignment of resources on an annual basis. New positions, whether they are full or part-time, must be requested, with justification, and ultimately negotiated with the senior academic officer of the institution.

At this point it is essential, within a traditional academic setting, to discuss placement, reporting relationships, fiscal and academic responsibility. We need only look around universities to marvel at the variety of placements of IEPs in academic and non-academic programs: IEPs tend to be found in departments of continuing education, departments of English or linguistics, foreign language departments, international programs or may even be established as units with autonomy, such as centers or institutes, reporting to deans and even to vice presidents, sometimes the vice president for academic affairs and sometimes to the vice president for student affairs. The question to be raised about an IEP and its fit in a university relates to the program as an academic enterprise. Is an IEP, in fact, a continuing academic enterprise much as any degree program? We would argue that it is inasmuch it is continuing rather than occasional, it is dynamic rather than static, it has measurable and sequential goals, it develops a mastery of necessary skills and it involves the cognitive and intellectual development of the student. Moreover, its outcomes are applicable to other fields of academic endeavor. For these reasons, we believe that an IEP belongs either in an academic department or within its own autonomous unit. We are saying, in effect, that the IEP is not a program that belongs to a department of continuing education for the IEP's activities are not those associated with continuing education, nor do we believe that it belongs to the office of international programs for those programs are not academic but supportive and facilitative. This leaves us with the need for a conclusion about placement: We believe that a department of English is not the most appropriate because the IEP activity is a second language activity with which departments of English are not usually associated; a department of linguistics is inappropriate for the same reason and because linguists normally do not teach language but linguistic theory and its applications. The fact that a department of linguistics has an ***applied*** component in ESL or EFL teacher training is an asset to any IEP, but that fact alone is not a necessary and sufficient condition for IEP placement in the department. For obvious reasons, a foreign language department is also inappropriate and less attractive: it runs a risk of reinforcing the L1 in its environment and the majority of its faculty are usually involved in the teaching of literature and culture as ends in themselves. We are left, it seems, and not by default, with an IEP as an autonomous unit, that is, independent of another academic department but certainly responsible to an academic officer of the university, be it a dean or a vice president for academic affairs. This kind of organizational relationship contributes to an image that an IEP is a legitimate organization within a university and is bound by the same policies and standards as are other programs or departments. As such an autonomous unit, its budget may then be expected to be internal to the university, generated by formula, or external to the university, generated by a comprehensive fee for services that covers all academic, administrative, support and overhead costs. Any surpluses would be used by the program for its development of curriculum, faculty and resources.

Parenthetically, we would add that one of the disadvantages of placement of an IEP in an academic department is that surpluses which *only* the IEP generates may be "gobbled up" by those who have tenure, sabbatical privileges, texts to write, and the like. Their first citizen status sets up an artificial barrier between the ESL professional and the other academic department specialist. The ESL professional then becomes, through the fiat of legitimate privilege, ineligible for the monetary rewards that contribute to his professional and academic development. In essence, the two professionals are not allowed to compete on an equal basis.

Certainly once the issue of placement is determined, and this decision should ideally be academic and not political, the program must then begin to deal with the status of its faculty as academic professionals. In the 1980's there is no question that the field of ESL/EFL is a professional field with standards for instructor training and, in some areas, licensing at the state level. The acceptable terminal degree for practitioners is generally the M. A. or M. S. degree in ESL/EFL or applied linguistics. This is not to say that others are not qualified by experience or even training in areas such as English, foreign language, reading and even speech pathology. However, just as it is in the university's best interest to hire the most qualified applicant for a position in any field, the practice should also apply in an IEP. In the 1980's we have the luxury of ESL and EFL being a professional field whose practitioners have gained experience in the U.S. and abroad. These same practictioners have contributed to the development of the field as a profession as they have done research, developed materials, made conference presentations, conducted workshops, published articles in scholarly journals and published textbooks. These professionals are not unlike other academic professionals. The argument that the master's level terminal degree is not equivalent to the standard terminal degree for an academic position is untenable. Certainly the performing and creative arts do not require the doctorate and their practitioners are recognized as legitimate members of a university faculty with all the same rights and privileges.

As a faculty of professionals engaged in an academic enterprise, the IEP faculty need to be able to determine their course of development, their program governance and their mission, so long as the priorities and goals of their mission are consonant with those of the university. Academic freedom, advancement, tenure, merit evaluation and opportunity for faculty development ought to be among the rights and privileges of the faculty. Moreover, the IEP faculty should have the right to nominate, select and evaluate its leadership within the existing governance structure of the university in which it operates. For a university to provide less and to allow its faculty to do less is once again to demean the profession.

The university, on the other hand, has the right to expect measurable and qualitative productivity in the areas of teaching, scholarship and service. For the IEP program faculty and leadership to ignore these expectations is to deny the very essence of affiliation with a university. Participation by IEP faculty in the governance of the university through committee memberships, consultations, and other service obligations is a right of all faculty members in a university. All the rights and privileges must come within the context of delegated authority and within a system of moral and ethical responsiblity and accountability.

This system of responsibility and accountability is in place in universities, represented by mission, role and scope statements, peer review processes, and the faculty code. It is generally used to set the standards of performance for those eligible for professorial rank and tenure. According to the ESL Employment Survey (TESOL Newsletter: February, 1983), only 15% of the respondents in higher education held professorial rank. About 60% had position titles of "lecturer" or "instructor" and less than one third had any promotional opportunity in their positions. For the most part, we cannot know what system of accountability is used in each IEP, but we do know that the academic and professional rewards are not like those of our colleagues who work in what the *Chronicle* article termed the more "established disciplines" (Perry: 1982).

Whether we believe that faculty privileges are denied to ESL instructors because of program status, budgetary priorities, our international student clientele, enrollment uncertainties, the terminal degree issue, teaching in our native language or perhaps because of our student-centered classes, it is nonetheless abundantly clear to those of us who participate in TESOL that we *are* members of an established profession, however late, which has its own body of research, refereed journals, and professional standards like those our of our colleagues who also teach in higher education.

The IIE (Goodwin and Nacht: 1983) and ACE (1982) reports offer us another possible explanation for our failure to become fully enfranchised citizens of our colleges and universities: our institutions are, in general, not acknowledging the presence or addressing the influence of the international students who attend them; and although we do not have figures, there does not appear to be enough interest or concern from faculty members who are in a position to initiate policy on behalf of these students and their own institutions.

By failing to engage in the study of the issues surrounding international students and that information to formulate needed policies, the institution is risking its own welfare and credibility, including that of its staff and all the students it serves. Goodwin and Nacht reported on the "decision-making process and institutional response" (1983: 21) after interviewing college personnel on issues of recruitment, demand projections for U.S. education, the development of special courses and programs for international students, the need for cooperative services among institutions and national organizations such as IIE and NAFSA, and the role that institutional leadership could take in stifling or encouraging the internationalization of their campuses. The authors summarized their findings on admission policies only, which is often the most developed area of policy relating to international students in any given institution. We cite from *Absence of Decision:*

> One of the principal assumptions underlying this study was that there was no national policy concerning foreign students. Rather, the aggregate

> condition reflected thousands of decisions made by many individuals in colleges and universities across the country. In fact, we found the actual scene marked more by an absence of decision than by any distinctive pattern of decision making within or across institutions. In the course of our interviews we were told that the number of foreign students found on a particular college campus was the consequence of "cumulative incrementalism," "ad hocism," "designed ambiguity," "the virtues of non-policy," the philosophy that "long-range planning is where you are now," the judgment that "our greatest reason for our present condition is independent of reason," a process that is "just sort of going on," "no policy, no direction, no administration, no staff," or being caught "with our policy pants down."
>
> Nonetheless, it was widely held that much more careful attention in strategic planning should be devoted to formulating an institutional response to the foreign demand for U.S. higher education (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 21).

The authors determined that one of the reasons for the absence of policy surrounding admissions as well as other issues, included the need to keep a low profile for the state legislature. But they felt more strongly that the real, if underlying reason was that the issues surrounding the education of international students were perceived as being "insufficiently urgent to warrant (the policymakers') attention in the face of other seemingly more critical issues, including, in some cases, the stark problem of institutional survival" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 27).

Not all university officials agreed that non-policy was a virtue; some argued persuasively for the careful inquiry into the relationship between American higher education and the international students it serves. They noted that the state of international affairs – from wars to changes in a country's educational policies and needs – affects the institution which is best able to react to such changes when it is prepared for them. These same university officials also pointed out the need for public institutions to inform and educate state legislatures and boards of regents. These governing bodies are capable of demanding a "reversal of institutional policy without a moment's delay and certainly without time for careful self-study or additional opportunities for reasoned counterarguments" (Goodwin and Nacht 1983: 27). Such a reversal of policy or change in admissions or tuition could have a dramatic negative impact on an institution with even a 5-10% international student population, resulting in losses of revenue which could affect the education of all its students. This is institutional survival.

Many ESL professionals are involved in their institution's non-policy, and, for the most part, left out of the governing bodies which inform and create policies which could alleviate the situation and be of great benefit to all who participate in higher education. It is a responsiblity that fellow educators cannot be depended on to perform, for their attitudes toward international students in their classrooms vary from receptive to hostile. The international student advisor and staff are, by virtue of their positions in the university structure, unable to influence policy, even though they have special insight into "the relative importance of psychological, cultural, and academic pressures on the student" (Goodwin and

Nacht 1983: 19). Goodwin and Nacht view the international student office as "powerless" in the institution, because it offers a "service," and "in academe today there is minimal interaction between those in service and those in academic roles" (1983: 19). Finally, the international students themselves cannot be expected to question university policy or non-policy, or changes in policy. They perceive their stay as temporary and their behavior to have a direct influence on their visa.

There are, of course, agencies external to our institutions which have an interest in international students' welfare. Most notable among them is NAFSA which has published numerous documents and position papers, often in liaison with other interested agencies, on standards for equitable admission, ethical recruitment, guidelines for intensive and semi-intensive ESL programs, and English language proficiency. NAFSA has also initiated a program of self-study, in which any institution enrolling international students may participate. Within NAFSA, the Consortium of Intensive English Programs (CIEP) evaluates IEP's when invited to do so. Membership in CIEP amounts to a kind of private accreditation. There is also a national accrediting agency for proprietary IEP's and for those in continuing education. All these agencies provide services and publish standards which institutions and IEP's may embrace.

In the U.S., institutional accreditation is voluntary, but accreditation by the regional agencies is critically important to the reputation and financial support of the institution. It is especially significant to find a section in the *Handbook of Accreditation* (1982) of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) on international students. Briefly, it states that institutions that recruit and enroll international students should provide the services and programs for them, and that when large programs are provided, they should be taught by persons specifically qualified to do so. It remains to be seen what kind of impact this will have on institutions with IEP's. It is worth noting that, within the WASC standards for accreditation, the section on faculty and staff deals with the terminal degree issue in this way: "The terminal degree in the teaching field is the primary index of quality" (1982: 41). We hope the relationship between quality teaching and quality programs can be explored through the regional accrediting agencies now that there is at least one statement on international students from one accrediting body.

The ESOL professionals have TESOL and its committees and interest groups to consult on their professional concerns. But there is often no closure since many of the same professionals are having the same experiences. These experiences have been reflected in the *TESOL Newsletter* and are the subject of discussion in the Committee on Professional Standards. Many institutions, also, are unable to come to terms with the professional concerns peculiar to our field for many reasons, including a lack of knowledge about the professional preparation necessary for teaching ESL, and the academic nature of the field. Some institutions are at best reluctant to develop policies for any aspect of international student education and to involve the necessary college personnel in the effort. We who teach in IEP's are not usually in a position to participate in policy-formulation which serves our students and our institution, nor to participate in the academic organizations and privileges which promote professional development and recognition of our work unless we force ourselves, the institution and our professional organization to listen to our concerns. We believe IEP's to be problem-solving entities with regard to their own development. The IEP's do not generally look to the institution to solve their problems. Unfortunately, for some of our institutions, the avenues for solving problems have to be created by using symptoms – employment status, budgetary resources, surplus allocations, faculty evaluation and merit, employment conditions and general university support – to get university decision-makers to focus attention on the English language needs of international students and the professionals who provide their instruction.

If there is a single conclusion to be reached from our remarks, it is that, as IEP's proliferate in American colleges and universities, and in private commercial enterprises, there is an academic and humanistic concern that the professionals in these programs have access to decision-makers and that quality, integrity, and continuity of programs and personnel be issues of continued debate toward that most noble and realistic goal of dignifying the professionals and the programs on our campuses.

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EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION OF AN ESL PROGRAM

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Introduction

In a classic article, Skills of an Effective Administrator, Robert L. Katz defines an administrator as "one who (a) directs the activities of other persons and (b) undertakes the responsibility for achieving certain objectives through these efforts" (1983:24). According to Katz, the effective direction of others and accomplishment of objectives which characterize successful administration "rest on three basic skills, which we will call ***technical, human and conceptual***" (1983:24). Katz's approach to administration has much to offer in the way of insight and practical guidance for all types of administrative or management contexts. In Katz's words:

> This approach is based not on what good [administrators] *are* (their traits and characteristics) but rather on what they *do* (the kinds of skills which they exhibit in carrying out their jobs effectively). As used here, a ***skill*** implies an ability which can be developed, not necessarily inborn, and which is manifested in performance, not merely in potential (1983: 24).

With some interpretation and with the inclusion of relevant examples, Katz's model becomes a description of a particular administrative environment. Below, I offer an interpretation of Katz's model as applied to the particular environment of ESL administration.[1]

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[1] The administration of an ESL program or department, as here conceived, includes all of those individuals employed in the ESL program or department who are performing functions other than teaching ESL students. In any given case, the administration might therefore include job titles such as Program or Departmental Director/Coordinator, Academic or Curriculum Director/Coordinator, Teacher Supervisor, Student Services Coordinator or International Student Advisor, Administrative Assistant, Clerk/Typist, Work-Study Student and possibly others.

Technical Skill

Technical skill is the result of training and experience in a particular field. In Katz's characterization:

> technical skill implies an understanding of, and proficiency in, a specific kind of activity, particularly one involving methods, processes, procedures, or techniques. . . . Technical skill involves specialized knowledge, analytical ability within that specialty, and facility in the use of the tools and techniques of the specific discipline (1983:24).

Under Katz's conception of technical skill, administration of an ESL program might require the following sorts of specialized knowledge and abilities:

- English language (phonetics, grammar, morphology)
- Teaching (methods, techniques)
- Educational materials (evaluation, adaptation, development)
- Audiovisual equipment (operation, uses)
- Curriculum design
- Testing and placement
- Immigration matters
- Personnel (hiring, training, evaluation of faculty and office staff)
- Finances (budgeting, accounting)
- Administrative supplies and equipment (operation, uses, inventory management)
- Development (grants proposals, program promotion, student recruitment)
- Administrative writing (memos, reports, contracts, promotional literature)
- Record-keeping systems
- Computer skills[2]

Besides making it possible for an administrator to directly accomplish a job when the need arises, technical skill in a particular field makes it easier for an administrator to realistically perceive and assess the technical work of others in the same organization or field. In addition, having strong technical skills in the field in which one is an administrator (for example, having a strong command of ESL methods and materials) is one way of gaining respect from employees (in this case, instructors) and thus gaining their confidence and cooperation. In contrast, ESL administrators who do not have strong classroom skills will probably be viewed by faculty members as having one strike against them, and hence will have to rely on other ways of gaining instructors' respect, confidence and cooperation.

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[2] Obviously, many of the areas of technical skill (as well as human and conceptual skill, as will be seen below) which are relevant for ESL administration are relevant for any type of administration.

Human Skill

Katz defines human skill as the administrator's

> ability to work effectively as a group member and to build cooperative effort within the team he [or she] leads. As *technical skill* is primarily concerned with working with "things" (processes or physical objects), so *human skill* is demonstrated in the way the individual perceives (and recognizes the perceptions of) his [or her] superiors, equals, and subordinates, and in the way he [or she] behaves subsequently (1983:24).[3]

The administrator with strong human skills is not only aware of and sensitive to the needs and motivations of others, but also "is able and willing to *act* in a way which takes these perceptions by others into account" (Katz 1983:24-25). This type of administrator wants to know about employees' concerns, needs and opinions regarding the organization and the part that they play within it. The administrator has the wisdom and the self-control to suppress the desire to dominate in conversations and instead concentrates on listening to what other members of the organization have to say. The administrator who has highly developed human skills understands the constraints and restraints operating upon employees which may make them reluctant to express their ideas, suggestions, complaints and criticisms openly and with candor (see Roy 1965: 164-172). In Katz's words:

> Such a person works to create an atmosphere of approval and security in which [employees] feel free to express themselves without fear of censure or ridicule, by encouraging them to participate in the planning and carrying out of those things which directly affect them (1983:24).

Some of the areas in ESL administration where human skill comes into play are the following:

- Presentations
- Training sessions
- Meetings
- Giving individual counsel and feedback
- Curriculum development and implementation
- Handling complaints and criticisms
- Making changes
- Keeping morale high

In a presentation, the speaker must have the communicative skill to arouse, as well as to sustain, attention and interest in the audience. In addition, presentations often are intended to convince the audience of the correctness or viability of some point of view or course of action and so presuppose the ability to persuade. For ESL, under the category of Presentations are included not only presentations at conferences, but also prepared or "off-the-cuff" remarks at welcoming or orientation sessions for students, presentation of new ideas for discussion at faculty meetings, and proposals made to the institutional director (e.g., the dean or principal). In training sessions for faculty or staff – e.g., in how to work with certain materials or how to operate a certain piece of equipment (overhead projector, computer) – the facilitator has to not only arouse and sustain the attention and interest of the participants, but also to motivate them to involve themselves in active, "hands-on" experience during and after the session, through which they will acquire new skills.

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[3] Katz and the other authors cited in works published before the present decade used the masculine pronoun exclusively. I have corrected for this bias through non-significant changes or additions, using standard bracketting conventions. These conventions have also been used to substitute words such as "employee" for "subordinate," "employer" for "superior," or "administrator" for "executive," to give the cited passages a more neutral or wider reference.

The administration of an ESL program involves many different types of meetings – with students, student sponsors, faculty, office staff, and administrators from other departments or institutions. To be a successful participant in a meeting, the administrator must possess the interactional skills to express ideas clearly, attractively and succinctly; to listen carefully to other participants and to comprehend the full import of their statements; and to show an attitude of tolerance for and interest in others' ideas. Such interactional skills become even more important when the administrator is leading the meeting.

Conducting successful meetings, whether they be informal discussion sessions or structured group sessions with prepared agenda and goals, requires a high degree of human skill. Group leaders must be able not only to interact effectively as group members themselves, but also to guide the other members of the group to successful interaction. This means, for example, maintaining the delicate balance between ensuring that everyone has ample time to express opinions while not allowing individuals to speak at such length that the other group members feel that their time is being wasted. The effective group leader has skill in several other aspects of group process as well: in drawing out every member of the group to participate fully, in paraphrasing or explaining statements to clarify meaning, in helping the group to see the implications of any position or course of action, and in guiding them to reach consensus or compromise when a decision needs to be made. The administrator will need cross-cultural skills in meetings with ESL students.

Individual counseling and feedback by the ESL administrator occurs in a variety of situations: evaluations of staff and faculty performance (in evaluations of specific projects as well as in general – performance reviews), discussions about an individual's present and future role in the organization, sessions where personal concerns of faculty or staff members relevant to the work environment are discussed and student disciplinary cases and in the variety of other cases in which an international student may need counseling of some kind. Giving counsel and feedback of different types – both positive and negative – to faculty members, staff members, and students demands the use of many kinds of interactional skills. In a counseling or feedback session, the administrator needs to draw out the other party, e.g., by showing concern and asking open-ended questions; to listen actively and ensure mutual understanding, e.g., by paraphrasing, explaining and illustrating points; to be clear and specific about performance, behavior or incidents relating to the session; and to give advice which will prove meaningful and useful for the person being counseled and which can help to produce desirable or necessary changes in behavior.

Curriculum development is in large measure a group process which involves faculty members and an administrator who may be designated curriculum coordinator. Curriculum development therefore requires a facilitator skilled in conducting meetings and in leading a group to reach consensus or compromise. Human skill comes into play in many aspects of curriculum implementation, which ordinarily involves periodic meetings, as well as presentations, training sessions, observation, and feedback and counseling sessions.

The ESL administrator needs human skill to deal with situations of disequilibrium in the organization, as when problems arise or when students, faculty or office staff members register complaints or criticisms. The skilled administrator will be able to handle problems, complaints and criticisms quickly and locally before they can cause any major disruption in the organization. Disequilibrium is also created when the administration seeks to make major changes in the organization. The successful implementation of an organizational change requires a great deal of human skill. First of all, the administrator needs to prepare employees for the change by careful communications which set up conditions for the change to occur. Second, the administrator will have to practice persuasion, negotiation and compromise since any major change – e.g., in staffing or course structure – may cause conflicts and contrasting priorities to develop. The human skill of the administrator will in large measure determine the severity of the effects of the change as well as the speed with which structure, confidence and security – i.e., equilibrium – return to the organization.

In order to raise morale and maintain morale, the administrator must exercise a high degree of human skill. The administrator contributes to good morale in communicating to employees that they are full participating members of the organization and in instilling in them a sense of superiority about the organization of which they are members (see Roy 1965:126-157). In addition, the administrator must communicate to employees vision for the future. In the words of Roy:

> Where organization morale is low, hope and anticipation of the future are likely to be dim. One requirement for raising morale is, somehow, the imparting of hope to the individuals who comprise the organization, to give them the uplifting idea that now, at last, the the organization is "going somewhere" (1965:146-147).

As an instance from ESL, we can think of the current situation of low enrollments in many university-level ESL programs. To keep morale up in a time of low enrollments, the program administrator needs the full participation and cooperation of the faculty and office staff in maintaining or producing high academic standards and in working toward future enrollments.

In Katz's view:

> Real skill in working with others must become a natural, continuous activity since it involves sensitivity not only at times of decision making but also in the day-to-day behavior of the individual. Human skill cannot be a "some time thing"... Because everything which an [administrator] says and does (or leaves unsaid or undone) has an effect on his

> [or her] associates, [the] true self will, in time, show through. Thus, to be effective, this skill must be naturally developed and unconsciously, as well as consistently, demonstrated in the individual's every action. It must become an integral part of [the person's] whole being (1983:25).

It is essential that a person's administrative style, or what might be called the administrative personality, be based on and consistent with the type of style and personality which the person exhibits outside the administrative context. Adopting a calculated, perhaps stereotypical, administrative style, that is, taking a posture which is felt to be appropriate for an administrator but which must be self-consciously maintained in every situation, will not result in success as an administrator because a "lack of sincerity will be perceived and suspected..." (Roy 1965:22).

According to Katz, "[b]ecause human skill is so vital a part of everything the administrator does, examples of inadequate human skill are easier to describe than are highly skillful performances" (1983:25). For ESL, we might cite cases such as an in-service workshop being given by a curriculum coordinator who cannot communicate knowledge well. As a result of the administrator's poor performance, the faculty becomes dissillusioned with the idea of in-service workshops and loses respect for the coordinator. In the worst case, this disillusionment and loss of respect can result in hostility by faculty members towards the coordinator and towards any proposals or attempts which the coordinator makes to improve teaching performance. Another failure in human skill might be an administrator's inability to muster enthusiasm and support for a new curriculum proposal, or gain acceptance for a sound idea because of a poor presentation.

If the curriculum coordinator does not relate well to the faculty members in a particular program, they will not communicate readily to the coordinator important information or feelings. In such a situation, the transfer of distorted information is likely to take the place of open communications channels, and feelings will probably surface at some point in unexpected and non-constructive ways. At the very least, morale will suffer, and in the worst case, the situation can become explosive.

In this day and age, human skill is of particular importance, as stressed by Tannenbaum and Schmidt:

> Today's [administrator] is more likely to deal with employees who resent being treated as subordinates, who may be highly critical of any organizational system, who expect to be consulted and to exert influence, and who often stand on the edge of alienation from the institution that needs their loyalty and commitment (1983:11).

In educational administration, perhaps more than in any other type of administration, human skill is essential. Roy puts it this way:

> A military commander at any rank *must* give orders; to do otherwise would be to appear a misfit. At the opposite extreme, in academic organizations, those in administrative positions *cannot* give orders.

> Behind this lies a long tradition of academic freedom, job tenure, diversification of scholarship and technical knowledge (1965:38).

An effective educational administrator must *sell* rather than *tell*, persuade rather than dictate. Thus, the stereotypical administrator does not belong in educational administration:

> There is a widespread and erroneous belief that to be an administrator one must fill the image of the legendary "captain of industry," impressive and aggressive, decisive and peremptory. This is true only when to be impressive and aggressive, decisive and peremptory is appropriate to the organization to which the "captain" is attached. When this is not so, the result of such an attachment and such behavior is destructive either of the organization or of the [administrator] (Roy 1965:39).

Conceptual Skill

The third area of administrative skill which Katz defines, conceptual skill:

> involves the ability to see the enterprise as a whole; it includes recognizing how the various functions of the organization depend on one another, and how changes in any one part affect all the others; and it extends to visualizing the relationship of the individual [organization] to the entire field, the community, and to political, social and economic forces. Recognizing these relationships and perceiving the significant elements in any situation, the administrator should then be able to act in a way which advances the overall welfare of the total organization (1983:26).

Conceptual skill is the basis for all planning and decision-making, which are at the heart of the administrative function. For the development and implementation of effective plans and decisions rests on the ability to recognize the full implications of any course of action or change.

According to Katz:

> Not only does the effective coordination of the various parts of [an organization] depend on the conceptual skill of the administrators involved, but so also does the whole future direction and tone of the organization (1983:26).

A further respect in which administrative decision-making and action are oriented towards the future is observed Roy: "In a very large number of decisions, the alternative choices lie between incurring costs or risks now as against the possibility of larger aggregate gains in the future" (1965:216). In planning for the future of an organization, an administrator sets goals and priorities for the organization as a whole and for the individual jobs within it. These goals and priorities involve not only the organization's use of (present and future) financial resources, but also its use of (present and future) human resources. Thus, part of the conceptual skill needed to run a successful organization is being able to determine the best use of people's time, the administrator's and everyone else's in the organization.

To give a more concrete picture of the ways in which conceptual skill is needed in ESL administration, two typical examples are offered below of cases in which the administrator is faced with difficult or complex situations whose resolution will require a high degree of conceptual skill.

EXAMPLE 1

The director of an ESL program does not feel that the program can afford the full expense of an academic coordinator. Yet the administrator feels that the faculty needs closer coordination. Some possible alternatives are:

(a) The director provides closer coordination of the faculty.

(b) The director selects experienced instructors to serve as skill area coordinators – one for Reading and Writing and one for Speaking and Listening – reducing their teaching load to three-quarter time, with no change in salary.

(c) The director promotes an experienced instructor to become a half-time academic coordinator and half-time instructor, at the same salary.

Alternative (a) is desirable in that it requires no additional expenditure of money and will put the director in closer contact with the faculty, the students and the day-to-day operation of the program. It has the potential drawbacks of requiring the administrator to increase time on-site and in individual conferences and meetings, particularly with instructors, and of taking time away from the administrator for planning and a host of non-academic administrative functions. Hence, this alternative would probably not be possible in a period of major change and planning for the future, where the director's input is crucial, and it is probably only a short-term solution to the problem of faculty coordination.

Alternatives (b) and (c) would require either an increase in class size or the addition of one or more part-time instructors at an additional expense. On the positive side, these alternatives would allow the director to focus on planning and other non-academic administrative functions and so make it possible to develop and implement changes and new directions for the program. In addition, these alternatives offer chances for growth and development of faculty members in coordinator positions. On the negative side, the promotion of one or more instructors to positions of some authority increases the hierarchical structure of the organization and may create rivalries and friction within the faculty. From this perpective, alternative (c) would seem to be less desirable than alternative (b), in which two faculty members have the opportunity to share in coordination of the academic program. However, alternative

(c) would probably provide the maximum degree of coordination of the academic program with the least input from the director.

EXAMPLE 2

Considering the political, social and economic situation of the world today, the administrator of an ESL program (which may or may not be completely self-supporting) has to plan how to continue enrollment growth and on which countries to target recruitment. In making decisions about student recruitment (and promotion), the administrator will need to conceptualize the political, social and economic situation in each part of the world and consider the implications of various alternative courses of action. Only by comparing the potential benefits and drawbacks of each course of action in each geographical area will the administrator be able to set priorities which will be in the best interests of the long-term growth or stability of the program.

An administrator who lacks conceptual skill will have difficulty making sound decisions and may be likely either to avoid making decisions or changes, thus risking the organization will stagnate and lose its competitive or qualitative edge, or else to make rash judgments and later be constantly changing course to correct the errors in judgment. Administrators with some degree of conceptual skill may be able to generate a number of possible courses of action to build up an organization, but lack the high degree of conceptual skill needed to select alternatives and to prioritize the use of the organization's time. These administrators are likely to exhaust themselves and their employees pursuing false leads and impractical schemes, though some of the directions—by the sheer number of them—will probably prove to be productive. Moreover, employee morale and productivity can remain high in such cases until burnout occurs or "the uplifting idea that now, at last, the organization is 'going somewhere'" (Roy 1965:147) can no longer be sustained. This case is but one illustration of the fact that even an organization which appears to be poorly managed may be successful, e.g., if the service or product which it provides is in high demand[4] or if the employees are hard-working and of high quality. In Roy's words:

> there are no absolute criteria for organization success; each is weighed against others equally susceptible to error. As one very perceptive student remarked, organizations, in a certain sense, do not succeed by being better than their rivals but only by being "less worse" (1965:41).

Relative Importance of the Skills at Different Levels of Administration

As Katz reminds us:

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[4] As was the case only a few years ago, when we experienced a seller's market for ESL instruction in which many programs of questionable quality emerged and even flourished for a time.

> This separation of effective administration into three basic skills is useful primarily for purposes of analysis. In practice, these skills are so closely interrelated that it is difficult to determine where one ends and another begins. However, just because the skills are interrelated does not imply that we cannot get some value from looking at them separately, or by varying their emphasis (1983:27).

To make an analogy, the game of tennis requires many kinds of interrelated actions. Yet in trying to improve my game, I am able to work on one shot or one skill – or even one component of a shot (for instance, the toss of the serve) – separately. Also, different tennis shots or skills have variable importance, depending on the type of game (e.g., singles or doubles), the strategy of the opponent, and the values of a variety of situational variables.

Similarly, although all three administrative skills are of importance at every level of administration, the technical, human and conceptual skills of the administrator vary in relative importance at different levels of responsibility (Katz 1983:27).

According to Katz (1983:27), technical skill is most important at lower levels of administration. In ESL, the more distant an administrator is from the day-to-day operation of the program or department, i.e., from the classroom and from routine paperwork and other daily tasks, the less important it will be for that administrator to be technically skilled, provided that the administrator has skilled instructors and administrative assistants. However, technical skill is not entirely unimportant at the top level of administration. This is especially true in smaller enterprises, where the administrator is likely not to have assistants who can oversee technical functions.

In contrast to technical skill, human skill, in Katz's view, "is essential to effective administration at every level" (1983:28). In educational administration, outstanding human skill can make up substantially for what an individual lacks in technical or conceptual skill and go a very long way towards ensuring the success, if not in fact then at least in appearance,[5] of the administrative enterprise. Whether or not human skill is the most significant predictor of actual organizational success, it does appear to be valued more highly than technical and conceptual skill as an indication of management capability. It is, therefore, a good predictor of the degree and speed that an individual will be advanced in the management hierarchy.

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[5] In enterprises which are not motivated by a need to make a profit or to have an internally balanced budget e.g., in educational units wholly or partially supported by tax revenues or by other resources outside the purview of the administrator of that unit, there may be little difference between appearing to be well-run and actually being well-run. In organizations which must make a profit or at least break even to continue to exist, an organization which appears to be smoothly functioning may in fact be operating at a deficit and not be successful in terms of its profit-oriented objectives.

On the other hand, there are plenty of cases in which an individual, though lacking human skill in Katz's (1983) sense, is arguably effective as an administrator.[6] Katz cites cases – and we could add our own for ESL – in which an inconsistent and unpredictable administrator, through the effects of a strong personality and some degree of intimidation, is able to obtain very high performance from all employees, though they are constantly complaining and chronically insecure. Of course, it makes a difference what the criteria for evaluation are and who is evaluating such an individual's performance whether the person will be evaluated positively or negatively. Evaluation of administrative performance is a complicated and often subjective matter which cannot be defined by the criterion of popularity or morale, nor by any single criterion. As stressed in the introduction to Katz's article, administrative skillfulness is to be judged in terms of "effective action under varying conditions" (1983:24). An effective administrator is flexible and is able to "strike different balances among [the] personal skills as conditions chance or as [the] organization grows in size and complexity" (Katz 1983:35).

Creating Administrative Teams

In Katz's view, "it is impossible for anyone to perform well in these continually changing roles without help" (1983:35). Fortunately, "[the] three-skill concept suggests immediate possibilities for the creating of [administrative] teams of individuals with complementary skills" (Katz 1983:30). As an example, a possible structure for a relatively large ESL program might be as shown in Figure 1. In Figure 1, the unit director or principal is outside the ESL department proper. This person is the immediate supervisor of the ESL program director, whose position is supervisory to all other positions in the hierarchy shown.

Directly below the program director are three positions, those of academic coordinator, student services coordinator and administrative assistant. These three people provide technical assistance to the director respectively in the academic area (e.g., curriculum, methods and materials), the student services area (e.g., student counseling, immigration, housing), and in the clerical area (e.g., typing, filing, mailing). They also provide technical assistance and leadership to those whom they coordinate. In the case of the academic coordinator, this means the faculty; in the case of the student services coordinator, this means the students; and in the case of the administrative assistant, this means the clerical/work-study team. Since they are in constant contact with those whom they supervise, all three of these individuals need to have excellent human skills.

While the three administrators under the program director need some level of conceptual skill to advise the director and to keep their parts of the operation running smoothly, the primary planner in the organization pictured in Figure 1 is the program director. If the organizational structure is *in practice* what it is according to the figure,[7] then the program director should be relatively removed from

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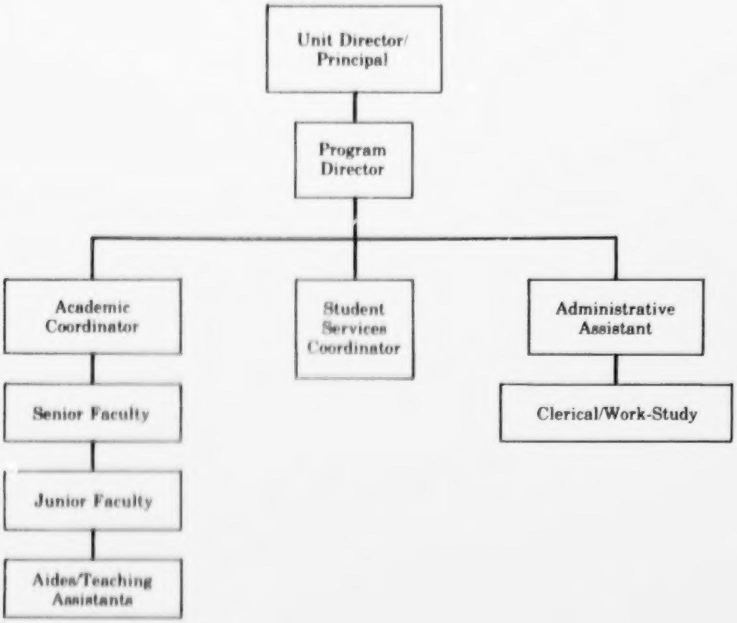
[6] One might claim that an administrator who achieves high performance from all employees is by definition one with human skill, but I do not think that this is what Katz intends.

[7] As Roy points out, "tables of organization are seldom quite what they seem to be, and they do not often mean the same thing to the administrator that they do to the [employees]" (1965:10).

FIGURE 1
A Possible Structure for
a Large Language Program

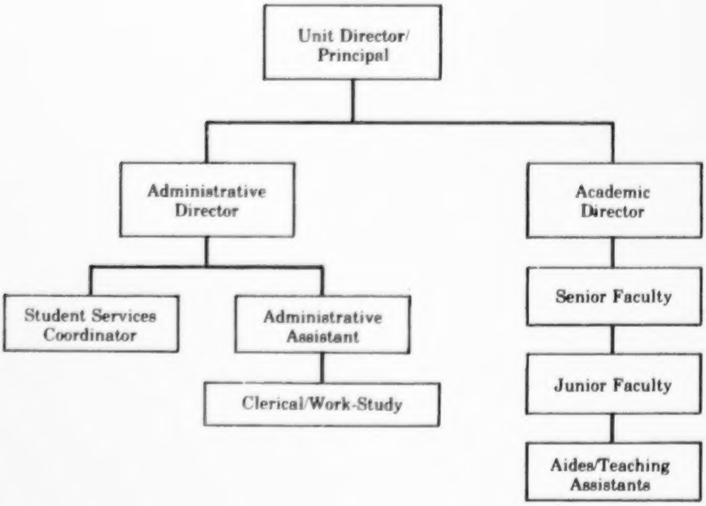


day-to-day operation of the program and so have the time and the flexibility needed for planning for the future of the organization. In this organizational structure, then, it would be expected that the program director has highly developed conceptual skill. Human skill would also be expected, for inspiring and coordinating the three individuals immediately under the director position and to represent the interests of the ESL department to the unit director or principal.

Notice that neither the program director nor the unit director, as shown in Figure 1, needs to know much about the technical side of ESL in a large program like the one represented in the figure, which has several specialized administrative positions. The person could in fact be a professional administrator who has come to ESL from some other administrative area.

A similar but somewhat different organization is shown in Figure 2. The main difference between Figure 1 and Figure 2 is in the relative level of the supervisor of the academic program. In Figure 2 the academic manager is a director, and the academic program functions autonomously of the administrative director (program director of Figure 1). This organizational structure, with the person managing the academic program in a high level position, is not inappropriate for an educational enterprise. However, I suspect that in practice the two directors would not remain equivalent, one or the other would emerge as a leader within the entire program, or that the two parts of the organization would not be well-integrated. From a practical point of view, it is not feasible for the plan-

FIGURE 2
A Second Possible Structure for
a Large Language Program



ning and the control of a department to be equally shared by two individuals; someone must take responsibility for making final decisions. It is probably not a good idea either for conceptual direction and overall control of a department to rest entirely outside the department, as might happen in the organizational structure shown in Figure 2. The unit director/principal might be responsible for mediating between the two directors and for making all high-level decisions.

Development of the Three Skills

There are some limitations on the possibility of developing or enhancing the skills for particular individuals. For one thing, the skills may be incompatible to some extent. It seems to me that the kind of person who is likely to be highly skilled on a technical level may not have an aptitude for or an interest in the kind of politics which are often required in the human skill area. Also, as Katz (1983:34) points out, conceptual skill may be something which is developed or not developed early in life and which can be enhanced in adulthood, but probably not developed from scratch in adulthood. Thus, you may have to choose between an academic coordinator with great expertise in ESL or one who will exhibit great human skill in all situations. This adds support to the idea of complementary jobs requiring different proportions and combinations of skills in an ESL program.

What training there is in ESL administration concentrates primarily on the imparting of information rather than on the enhancement of skills. Sadly, most TESL classes – in fact, most education classes – are predominantly of the informative type. Yet the "skill conception implies *learning by doing* . . . . [S]kills are developed through practice and through relating learning to one's own personal experience and background" (Katz 1983:31).

In Katz's view, technical skill is best developed through:

> [s]ound grounding in the principles, structures, and processes of the individual specialty, coupled with actual practice and experience during which the individual is watched and helped by a [supervisor]. . . (1983:31).

Technical skill training in ESL is readily available though this is provided more through teaching practica than it is through course work, which tends to involve more telling by the instructor than doing by the students. Other technical aspects of administrative work in ESL – involving, for example, immigration matters, budgeting, promotion, or the more mundane but equally important office skills of filing and recordkeeping – are not provided at all in ESL training programs.

Information is readily available on how to improve human skill, though "[a]s a practical matter. . ., the [administrator] must develop his [or her] own human skill, rather than lean on the advice of others" (Katz (1983:31). In a group of trainees:

> the use of case problems coupled with impromptu role playing can be very effective. This training. . .requires a skilled instructor and an organized sequence of activities. . . . An important part of the procedure is the self-examination of the trainee's own concepts and values, which may enable [the trainee] to develop more useful attitudes about himself [or herself] and about others. With the change in attitude, hopefully, there may also come some active skill in dealing with human problems (Katz 1983:32).

Supervisory or management courses which offer analysis and case-study could be beneficial in developing conceptual skills of value for one going into ESL administfation. I believe that it is well worth the investment for a program to pay for such course work. Perhaps course work in ***thinking skills*** such as that offered by the Edward De Bono School of Thinking would be of value in developing conceptual skill. I suspect that course work in a variety of areas, or a liberal arts background might be equally valuable for the development of conceptual skill.

Taking my cue from enterprises outside of education, I want to propose the idea of an ESL administrative traineeship. In my opinion, the best way for someone to develop skills which will be useful in ESL administration is to work for some time – six months to a year as an administrative trainee or apprentice. I am proposing an administrative practicum. No one would disagree that a practicum is absolutely essential for a prospective teacher, and I see no reason that the situation should be any different in the case of a prospective administrator. As far as I know, however, there is no such position in the field of ESL. As a consequence, a very large number of ESL administrators have taken on their highly responsible positions with little or no background beyond teaching and curriculum development, and have been held responsible for some rather serious administrative errors.

The situation would no doubt have been different if it had been possible for those individuals to work in the status of trainees for a year under the direct supervision of a trained professional who might be the dean, the program director, or a similar administrator at another school. People would expect a trainee to make mistakes and would be more tolerant when the person did, in fact, commit errors. Moreover, the trainee, rather than becoming defensive about errors, would be in a position to gracefully accept advice. Prentice makes the important observation that "[n]o genuine growth of an employee will occur without some teaching" (1983:5). As Roy points out, in a situation such as the administrative apprenticeship which I am proposing, "[when supervision is relatively close. . ., action can be continuous, independent of crisis, and corrective rather than punitive" (1965:45).

"It should be [the supervisor's] concern to watch the long-term growth of [the trainee] to see that, as [the person] learn[s], . . .successes increasingly outweigh. . .failures" (Prentice 1983:5). The supervisor cannot only provide coaching and encouragement, but also serve as a role model for the trainee, in both the human skill and conceptual skill areas. There should be frequent observation of the trainee's ability to work with others, followed by sessions in which the supervisor gives specific feedback and suggestions for improvement. In addition, the trainee should have frequent opportunities to observe the supervisor in action and to ask questions about what is observed.

The supervisor can have an open-door policy during the training period, and the trainee can be made to feel that questions and requests for aid are part of the training. A supervisor can help the trainee develop conceptual skill "by assigning a particular responsibility, and then responding with searching questions or opinions, rather than giving answers whenever the [trainee] seeks help" (Katz 1983:32). Another excellent way to develop conceptual skill is through observing (and possibly participating in) other jobs in the organization. Such experience will help the trainee to develop a sense of the organization as a whole. In fact, I think it would be worthwhile to require all new employees, including instructors, to spend some hours during their first few months of employment in each of the administrative offices of a program. Allowing a trainee to visit other programs to observe their administrative function is another experience which will add to the trainee's ability to conceptualize the workings of the home organization and the place it occupies vis-a-vis the field as a whole.

Conclusion

Both Prentice (1983) and Roy (1965) see the effective administrator as a kind of artist. Prentice puts it this way: "[A]n administrator must use his [or her] skills and. . .human insight as does an orchestra leader—to capture individual satisfactions in the common enterprise. . ."(1983:7). In the words of Roy, " [a]dministration is as yet an art, refined in the clinic of experience. . ." (1965:26). Administration is not a science; situations are unpredictable and problems do not have correct solutions. As a result, "[w]e cannot measure administrative results other than relatively. . ." (Roy 1965:19).

The administrative model developed by Robert L. Katz and interpreted in this article captures the chameleon-like nature of administrative "artists," stressing the need for an array of skills which allow them to adjust to the variety of contexts in which they find themselves. This three-skill model offers a useful framework for describing ESL administration and points the way towards a greater emphasis on practical experience and training for administrative positions in the field.

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TOWARD A BETTER PREPARATION OF THE NON-NATIVE ESOL TEACHER

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In the majority of the teacher preparation programs (TPP's) in the United States, the non-native ESOL trainees (Non-NETS) are generally subject to the same requirements and assignments as the native English speakers except for the language proficiency which is often indicated by a specific TOEFL score. Although the two groups share some goals, they cannot be expected to have the same background or needs. In a typical TPP in the States, the Non-NETs may form a small minority but this should be no reason for ignoring their needs either in the course work or practice teaching.

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, to identify some of the special needs and problems of the Non-NETs, especially in the two areas of methodology and practice teaching; and, second, to present a plan to deal with those needs and problems in light of our experience in an institution that coordinates ESL and both its TESL Certificate and M.A. in TESOL programs. Non-NETs, as used here, may include U.S. residents but, more often, the term refers to foreign participants seeking training in this country. While TPP's may vary in their requirements, the idea is to discuss existing practices and suggest possible directions within the framework of the TESOL Guidelines (1975).

Background Information

The TPP program discussed here, like many others, includes four major components: linguistics, cultural studies, literature and methodology (together with practice teaching). While native English-speaking trainees are required to have a knowledge of at least one foreign language and culture, the Non-NETs must focus on American culture and demonstrate adequate English proficiency. Practice teaching, which is part of the two-term methods class, usually comes toward

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the end of the program so as to encourage the participants to apply insights gained through course work to their practice teaching.

The Methods Class

The Methods class provides ample opportunities for interaction between the two types of participants enhanced by the Non-NETs multi-cultural perspective. Thus, Chinese participants, for example, can explain the relationship between the teacher and the students in their culture and how that may be different from what is common in this culture. There is no doubt that the presence of the Non-NETs from various countries renders the interaction mutually beneficial to both types of participants culturally as well as linguistically.

The Special Needs of the Non-NETs

In spite of the benefits of interaction between the two types of participants, the Non-NETs have special needs that should be addressed. Following are some of the major areas of concern:

1. *Anxiety and Competition with Native Speakers*
   Anxiety may be felt by any beginning teacher, whether native or non-native. However, when put next to native speakers, the non-NETs often experience a strong sense of fear that they will not attain the same level of proficiency, and that the ESL students may reject them preferring a native speaker as a teacher.

2. *Cultural Understanding*
   The non-NETs are expected to have cultural understanding not only of the United States, but to some extent of the various cultures normally represented in the ESL class.

3. *Relevance of Required Course Work*
   While some required courses in linguistics and intercultural communication are valuable to all participants, some others, especially in cultural studies and literature, should be carefully considered to accommodate the needs of the non-NETs whose background and future employment are likely to be quite different from those of the native speakers.

4. *Reconciling New and Old Methodology*
   For the non-NETs, new teaching methods and techniques can be a challenge to accept as a learner, let alone adopt as a teacher. For example, the Arab or the Chinese trainees, who are used to authority and memorization, may have difficulty in adjusting to cognitive-code and discussion-based methods.

5. *Practice Teaching Opportunities*
   Opportunities for the non-NETs to participate in practice teaching, though an important part of their training to help them relate theory to practice, are not often adequately provided. If teaching assistantships are not avail-

able, and here competition with native speakers may be high, they are not often given the chance to be guided and eventually evaluated in their teaching.

Proposed Plan

To accommmodate the needs of the non-NETs, and at the same time address the issues involved, it is suggested that the training program be based, as much as possible, on a careful study of their educational backgrounds and possible future work. Involving the trainee in the planning (see Brumfit 1976) can be highly motivating.

1. As a first step, the level of proficiency in both spoken and written English must be evaluated on arrival and the language problems must be diagnosed. If necessary, further ESL training is recommended not only for language improvement, but for the experience of closely observing classroom teaching. At the same time, the trainee can start with a reduced load of non-ESL courses to allow time for cultural and academic adjustment.

2. In selecting the appropriate courses, the TESOL adviser may find it helpful to consult with the instrutors for the required courses to coordinate efforts and to accommodate the special needs of the non-NETs. It has been our experience that some instructors are willing and able to provide suggestions relevant to the non-NETs' needs in the assignments, the term paper projects and the reading lists.

   (a) Linguistics: In addition to the analysis of American English phonology and syntax, the non-NETs may be encouraged to do some contrastive analysis involving their native languages or dialects.

   (b) Literature: It is in this area that the NETs need careful guidance to help them select representative works to understand modern American literature (Marchwardt 1978).

   (c) Cultural Studies: While understanding American culture is important, insights from research in intercultural communication can be valuable, especially when related to the non-NETs' interaction with other participants from various cultures.

Adapting Methodology to the Cultural Context

There is evidence that cultural attitudes play a significant role in testing and instruction. Fukuda (1975), for example, in describing a four-year project for training Japanese teachers refers to the practice of *sakoku* (closed door policy) and the lack of confidence in spoken English. Rigid attitudes are not limited to non-Western cultures (see Richard Kalfus 1977 who reports on his experience teaching in a German *gymnasium*).

As the non-NETs are exposed to recent approaches and techniques, they should be made aware of ways to adapt them to the cultural context. The discussion of cultural attitudes may be enhanced by a review of available information and videotapes. One revealing experience occurred in the TESOL Methods class when a videotape on English in American Samoa was shown. The majority of the participants expressed their disagreement and even resentment at the attitude of the teacher who was testing the students' oral proficiency. Only one Saudi participant showed enthusiasm for the teacher's approach and attitude. Providing the opportunity for reconciling the new methodology with cultural attitudes and systems outside the United States is beneficial, and indeed essential, to the two types of participants. Thus, it is not enough to demonstrate such approaches as the Silent Way, the Total Physical Response, Notional-Functional, the Natural Approach, etc. More important is to show how these approaches can be implemented or adapted in different cultural contexts. This may be facilitated by viewing videotapes that show teaching in other countries (see Clift 1976).

Providing Adequate Practice Teaching

Perhaps no area in the TPP is of more concern than that of providing adequate opportunities for the non-NETs to have guided practice teaching. According to the TESOL Guidelines, "The institution provides directed teaching practice with progressively increasing responsibility, under expert supervision in teaching situations appropriate to the student teacher's employment goals (1975:183)". This is certainly desirable and should be feasible when the training is in the home country. Realistically, however, there are limitations on providing those teaching situtations for the non-NETs who may be planning to teach in primary or secondary schools in their home countries. Part of the difficulty is due to the fact that many of the TPPs are housed in English or linguistics departments. (Less than one-third of the TPPs listed in the TESOL Directory (Blatchford 1982) are offered through Education). There is a limitation on the number of hours that can be assigned to methods and practice teaching. Parish, in discussing the constraints on the practicum for the M.A. students, has this to suggest: "Allow the non-native trainee opportunities to teach, in accordance with his ability and his wishes" (1976:329). The situation is further complicated by the fact that many, if not most, of the native participants, are not decided about their specific future employment and would like to take advantage of whatever jobs are available at the time of graduation.

In view of these limitations, it is perhaps advisable to expose the trainees gradually to a variety of areas and levels, and at the same time allow them to focus on one area of interest (elementary, college, etc.) so that the trainees can develop their teaching skills and broaden their perspective without being too limited in the field.

Practice Teaching as a Gradual Process

The model proposed assumes a close coordination between the ESL program and the TPP to facilitate the practice teaching process. At Portland State, where the model has undergone many changes for several years, the non-NETs take two terms of the TESOL Methods class (Greis 1984) in conjunction with practice teaching usually after completing most of the required coursework, especially linguistics.

During the first term the practice activities are limited to tutoring and classroom observation. Tutoring, to be a valuable experience, must be carefully structured with these points in mind:

1. If possible, the tutor is matched with a tutee from the same cultural background. This can help reduce anxiety and enhance the practice experience. As one participant puts it: "...my tutee was a Japanese girl who shared my native language. I knew exactly her problems because I experienced (that) before. Tutoring worked well and both of us enjoyed meeting each other..."

2. In some cases, team work can ensure confidence and effectiveness especially when the non-NET works with a native speaker.

3. Tutoring can provide valuable insights when related to the classroom observation. The participant has a better understanding of the learners' strategies individually and as a member of a group. Furthermore, the teacher can provide the tutor with specific suggestions.

4. Tutoring enables the non-NET to learn first hand about diagnosis and the use of the textbook by the tutee inside and outside of class. Each tutoring session may focus on a specific problem area utilizing the textbooks but with attention to the learner's needs as illustrated by the sample of a report submitted at the end of the term. It will be noticed that the tutor attempts to integrate skills in light of the reading and the methods class discussion (see Appendix A).

Classroom Observation and Teaching

During the second term, the non-NET observes an ESL class systematically while working with an experienced teacher who gradually assigns teaching tasks to the trainee (teaching the passive, scanning, etc...). In time the trainee gets to know the students and is ready to teach the class, thus achieving a smooth transition from observing to teaching. The observation report provides a checklist of activities and skills for which to look. Since the instructor is expected to make comments on the report, there is a useful dialog with the instructor especially as the non-NET is often encouraged to discuss the lesson before and after the class. The procedure is for the non-NET to submit one report after observing the same class more than once in order to see the teaching act in context and not in isolation.

Practice Classes

The second term trainee has the option of teaching in the practice classes in addition to teaching and working with the experienced teacher who provides a report describing the work of the trainee. These practice classes have been designed to give the ESL students more practice and the trainee a chance to try out new techniques or to gain more experience without much restriction. Practical suggestions are discussed in the methods class and in the readings (see Bailey and Celce-Murcia 1979).

Team Work

One idea that has proved successful in reducing anxiety is for the non-NET to cooperate with a native trainee in teaching one group. Just as in tutoring, team work emphasizes cooperation rather than competition. Judging by the limited experimentation so far, we have found that the activity is enjoyed by both the ESL students and the trainees.

Self Evaluation

While the process of evaluation starts with comments by teacher and peers, the videotape of one class marks the highlight of the experience. The non-NET presents the lesson plan to the methods class together with representative segments from the videotape. The other trainees make comments and suggestions which the non-NET reads and then once more reviews and videotape. In light of the feedback from peers and teachers, the trainee writes a self-evaluation. Our analysis of the trainees' comments reveals the value of the exercise; there are usually constructive suggestions enhanced by support from peers. Occasionally, the trainee tends to be on the defensive trying to justify the method used, but, by and large, the trainees show a genuine desire for self improvement. In their comments, the participants touch on methodological issues such as the treatment of errors and the approach used. The following excerpt illustrates the reaction of a Japanese trainee to the suggestions made first by the class instructor and later by the other trainees regarding the question of correcting students' errors:

> With regard to the suggestion to avoid correction during the students' responses, I was told to correct right after mistakes by (Ms. G. the instructor). Since it is hard for them to remember what they say if I wait too long, she felt it would be more helpful to correct immediately after they made a mistake. However, more practice would avoid their mistakes, I think. The timing of correction is so important and difficult that it depends upon the situation. In this case, I think correction did not inhibit the students' production. As suggested in comments, I need to project my voice more and be a little more assertive.

Conclusion

The special needs of the non-native ESOL trainees who are enrolled in teacher preparation programs in the United States are linguistic, cultural and academic. To accommodate these needs it is important that careful consideration be given to the selection of required course work, to the adaption of methodology and to the provision of adequate practice teaching. The proposed plan is for practice teaching to start with tutoring students from the same native language background. Systematic observation and gradual assumption of teaching responsibilities can be guided by experienced teachers and facilitated by team work with the native ESOL trainees. Since the plan involves the coordination of ESL and the teacher preparation program, cooperation among the faculty is crucial. Further experimentation may suggest modifications based on the resources available to the institution. The plan, however, has proved to be helpful in accommodating the needs of non-NETs while providing more interaction and wider perspectives for the native participants.

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APPENDIX A

TESOL Methods Tutoring Report

Term: Fall
Tutor: Chinese speaker

Student and Level: Chinese speaker, Level 1
Number of times:
Plan and point of emphasis: pronuncitation, stress, intonation, etc.

Material Used: *Improving Spoken English*, by Joan Morley

Sessions:		Topics:	Comments:
Date			
10/13	1.	pronunciation (previous coursework, sentences, dialogues	sound, /str/ /est/ /ʃ/–/ʃə/ we – /vi/

10/18	2.	pronunciation and rhythm. "Jazz chants" unstressed words	we - vi/ /est/ /r/
10/20	3.	Pronunciation & Rhythm + lab	Needs tape to follow
10/25	4.	Examine labwork. (stress, rhythm, sound, especially endings	/s/ /ʃ/ (3) stress + rhythm improved. ←adds /i/ afterward
10/27	5.	(record) error analysis, intonation, rhythm, past tense, word ending /t,d/	Assigned homework in ISE. Past tense ending (t,d) lesson 6, if has time lesson 6, too.
11/01	6.	Check homework. Past tense ending /+t/ /-d/ /*a*d/, blending	Improved. More on it next time.
11/03	7.	Review past tense endings. Start on pl. endings, blending in sentences, stress + rhythm	Occasionally leaves out words + morphemes. /s/ /ʃ/ initial s + endings
11/10	8.	Review past tense, pl. ending, blending stress, rhythm	Needs more exercises on stress and rhythm /v/ /w/ distinction.
11/12	9.	(½ hour lab + stress, rhythm in short sentences.	Needs more practice to learn how stress and rhythm help each other. Assigned passage in S-W.
11/17	10.	Stressed + weakened forms, passage reading.	/w/ /r/ /v/ /a/ ending C with /ə/ that is now there. Leaving out articles.
11/19	11.	Review, Stress, rhythm, word ending, weak forms, blending.	Assign passage with /w/ /r/ /v/ /n/ /ks/ + lesson 10, 11.
11/20	12.	On oral report + conversation (seeing the doctor, complaints etc.), attention to word endings + free communication.	Confidence + art of presentation. Reads word by word. No flow.
12/01	13.	On oral report, word stem and	/v/ ʧ / /s/ /ʃ/.
12/04	14.	Oral report + free conversation (on work, food, etc.)	Word endings sometimes. Concentrates sentences, not single words. A few sounds /s/ /ʃ/ /θ/ / ʧ /
12/08	15.	Report. Free conversation (giving directions, descriptions, etc.)	Purposely avoids some sounds /ʃ/ / ʧ / /e/.

TRAINING FOREIGN TEACHING ASSISTANTS: USING VIDEOTAPE TO OBSERVE AND PRACTICE COMMUNICATING AND INTERACTING WITH STUDENTS

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Harvard-Danforth Center for Teaching and Learning

Graduate teaching assistants are often assigned to teach small sections in which undergraduates are expected to participate and discuss the subject matter of a course. Foreign graduate students who have reached an advanced level in a specific discipline may be able to explain its intricacies with ease, particularly to others in the same field. However, when their teaching assignment calls for leading a discussion section, especially with students new to the subject, foreign teaching assistants may encounter difficulty in speaking comprehensibly, in explaining clearly, and in understanding their students easily. In their own academic careers they may not have been taught in a way that allowed for student participation; they may lack familiarity with the rules of English conversation that govern discussions; and they may use non-verbal behavior that does not invite or support this kind of communication. They may encounter an additional barrier to communication with some American students who believe they cannot understand their foreign teaching assistants. For all these reasons foreign teaching assistants can benefit from developing skills to communicate with their students. Crucial to their teaching success with American students (according to the research of Bailey 1983) is an ability to promote interaction in the classroom.

In order to help foreign teaching assistants become more competent and confident teachers in the American classroom, Harvard University offers a program called "Teaching in English," organized by the Harvard-Danforth Center for Teaching and Learning and the Office of English for Foreign Students. (For an analysis of different forms of institutional response to the foreign teaching assistant problem see Fisher: Forthcoming). In this program, participants first discuss their own previous teaching experience, their assumptions about good teaching, and the

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value of communicating with students and using a more interactive style of teaching. Many teaching assistants view interacting with students as one of the biggest problems they face in their teaching. One teaching assistant said he taught his class by clinging to the blackboard and racing through problems because he was afraid the students might ask him a question. Another teaching assistant reported that in his social science seminar he simply resorted to lecturing after his few attempts at discussion-leading had failed.

While a short course cannot perform miracles, it can provide ways to promote interaction in class and communication with students. Videotaped classes provide models of teacher-student interactions that are observed and discussed by program participants. Participants then videotape their own teaching and discussion-leading sessions in order to practice new skills, identify their own strengths and weaknesses, and observe subsequent improvement.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Observation of Teaching Skills

Through viewing and discussing selected examples of videotaped classes, foreign teaching assistants can observe a wide variety of teaching styles that are well-received by American students. The program emphasizes that teachers in math or science may seek student participation for reasons that are different from those of a social science or humanities teacher: that different teaching strategies may be used effectively during a single class meeting or across the semester; and, most especially, that individual teachers develop unique teaching styles reflecting their own personalities, values, and enthusiasm. As a focus for observing several five to ten-minute videotapes of classes in math, social science, and humanities courses, particpants were asked the following questions:

> What does the teacher do to encourage student participation?
> Why might the teacher want to encourage student participation?

Looking at sequences of classroom interactions, stopping the videotape, and specifying teacher behavior gives a concrete focus for discussions about teaching. In a calculus class, for example, the teacher is seen asking students how much they remember about checking equations to see if they are exact; as she writes out the equations, she invites the students to collaborate in working it out step by step. Another teacher, in a discussion of the Soviet economy, calls on students who speak infrequently whenever they show a willingness to talk; responds to student contributions differently in order to encourage more retiring students and to challenge more assertive ones; and makes frequent summaries, elaborating on students' points and attributing them to individuals by name. In a third class, a literature teacher initiates an animated discussion of the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* by hearing from nearly every student in response to his opening question: "Do you retain any vivid images from this poem?" The question is readily answered by many students who provide concrete examples; the teacher moves the discussion forward by listening closely and respectfully to student comments, relating students' comments to one another. Students are encouraged to explore new ideas by the teacher's willingness to pursue unanticipated directions introduced by the students.

As the videotapes are shown, the foreign teaching assistants' comments about the rationale for encouraging student participation and discussion are supplemented by what we (the teaching consultants) know about the videotaped teachers' reasons for asking the particular questions and responding to different students as they do. These elaborations both inform participants about how successful teachers think about their teaching and add to their understanding of teaching in an American context. Math and science teachers, for example, know that it is easy to talk over students' heads, and that it can be difficult for students to articulate what they do not understand. By asking for specific answers, in a non-threatening way, the teachers keep better track of how students are grasping the material; by anticipating being asked, students are apt to follow the class more closely. Teachers of discussion sections that follow lectures, such as the government class and the poetry class, view class meetings as an opportunity for students to demonstrate their command of the lecture material and to explore the associated readings. The government teacher, at the beginning of the year, establishes a clear expectation that students will talk without his having to call on them. Understanding that it is their class, not his, they come to class prepared to make contributions. The literature teacher views each class as an opportunity for students to develop their own ideas by talking with each other. He knows that there are many different ways to read a text, and that individuals have different personal responses. By creating a safe atmosphere for students to express themselves, individuals are encouraged to develop and support their own interpretations.

Non-verbal aspects of teacher (and student) behavior which may be particular to American culture are evident on the videotapes. It is not possible (and possibly not desirable) to identify and copy the details of another culture nor to expect to become totally accepting American student behavior. But it is possible to discuss the meaning that particular behavior conveys and its implications in the American cultural context, gradually developing a framework for observation and understanding. Aspects of behavior that affect teacher-student classroom interactions, apart from the actual words that are used in class include: how teachers and students enter and leave the room, how they interact before the formal opening of class, how and where people stand or sit, the level of formality between students and teacher, use of humor, tone of voice, facial expressions, and patterns of eye behavior.

As foreign teachers view several classes, they sense the expectations that teachers and students have of each other. Familiarity with these expectations can ease communication between students and teacher which is important not only for improving classroom interactions, but also for contributing to the overall effectiveness of the foreign teaching assistants. In the videotapes, successful teachers demonstrate some of the following qualities: encouraging students in their learning, for example; taking into account different levels of academic preparation, showing politeness, and even gentleness in correcting student errors; accessibility, for example, conversing before or after class, and holding office hours during the term; and showing that students are known as individuals, for example, making references to their particular interests and using names in class. A range of behaviors can be discussed to help establish the boundaries of what is expected and what is acceptable. To what extent are teaching assistants expected to be friends with students? What limits can they set on their accessibility? What constitutes unacceptable student behavior? What does it mean to be in an authority role?

Discussing teachers' expectations of students with specific references to teacher-student relationships in different cultures and the participants' own experiences can be very illuminating to foreign teaching assistants, and to the teaching consultants as well. For example, the level of preparation of many American high school math students is surprisingly inadequate, according to teaching assistants from different educational systems. That a teacher can successfully organize a class around the expectation that students will do the reading throughout the semester, as opposed to waiting for a year-end exam, is a surprise to people from some educational systems; that weekly quizzes are not the custom in all American universities is a surprise to others. Several foreign teaching assistants notice that American teachers emphasize the development of students' opinions, in papers as well as in class: in their own learning they may have had more experience in citing authorities than in asserting and supporting their own views.

Videotaped Practiced Teaching

In addition to using videotape to present models of American classroom interactions, videotape is used for foreign teaching assistants to observe themselves as they practice their teaching skills. The sequence of teaching skills in the practice sessions is incremental, from the least to the most interactive. The first activity is taping (and then viewing) a short presentation of a concept or a process in the teaching assistant's own field, accompanied by a handout or other visual support for communication. The second activity is a re-taping of the presentation, in which participants take into account what they have learned about giving clear presentations, as well as explicitly interacting with the audience. The third activity is a videotaped discussion in which each participant has an opportunity to practice discussion-leading skills. After everyone has given a presentation, the tapes are played back to the group one by one. While viewing the tapes no feedback is given by the teaching consultants or by peers until the individual has had a chance to express personal reactions to being videotaped and to the videotape itself.

The prospect of being videotaped is, for many people, terrifying. The prospect of seeing oneself is often even more terrifying. Seeing several videotaped classes before being taped oneself can help videotaping seem like a more natural activity; yet, seeing oneself on tape can still be significant event accompanied by anixiety and embarassment, On the other hand, seeing oneself—how one looks, how one explains, and how one listens—can be very compelling. To temper what may be for some an overwhelmingly self-critical reaction, it is important to view tapes with others sensitive to the fear accompanying videotaping and the power of seeing one's own image.

Being allowed to react to oneself on a level that is very personal and nonacademic can clear the way for observing teaching skills. Many people first notice their accents, expressing surprise that they sound the way they do. Then the length of their hair, their posture, or their mannerisms take on disproportionate significance. The teaching consultant can acknowledge the power of that visual image, and then move the focus to teaching. Being one's own critic uses the full power of videotape. This is a medium unlike others because it allows people to watch themselves perform and to criticize themselves without relying on another's observations.

Because the videotape faithfully records an entire teaching sequence, omitting none of the lapses, it is very tempting for observers to take advantage of this record and overload the presenter with advice. However, since the presenters themselves have the first say, they can set the terms for evaluating their own performance by specifying what they did well and on what they would like to work. What participants see for themselves is worth far more than what others point out to them, at least in their initial experiences with videotaping. The essence of using videotape is for participants to be their own observers and critics when the tapes are played back, to formulate their own goals to work on, and to check on their own improvements.

Reviewing the First Practice Presentations

Some questions that guide participants as they begin reviewing their teaching include: How do you motivate the listeners so that they will attend to your presentation? How do you vary the pace of your delivery? What are your key points? How do you provide emphasis? About what do you want to convey enthusiasm? How do you want to present yourself?

In response to these questions people may comment about the structure and content of their presentations, how the use of the blackboard or a handout affected their delivery, and how eye behavior, body position, and voice affected communication. Fellow participants, who subsequently join in the discussion, are urged to point out strengths. They are further cautioned that people will be more likely to work on improving what they feel is important, and that they can concentrate on only a few things at a time.

The Second Practice Presentation

Re-taping presentations, and viewing subsequent improved versions, builds confidence as individuals see their own improvement in aspects of teaching that they view as important. Ultimately, as the teaching assistants feel and look confident and competent as teachers, their students' understanding and willingness to communicate with them will increase. For the second videotaped presentation, the explicit assignment is for the teaching assistants to draw in the audience by asking about their experience with the topic or engaging them in a demonstration or solution to a problem. The goal is to incorporate into a presentation as much contact and communication with an audience as possible so that teaching this way becomes more natural.

By the time individuals repeat their presentations they have had more instruction in techniques of teaching and more discussion of the barriers to student comprehension of foreign teaching assistants. They have practiced framing presentations, using the devices to organize speech that contributes to clear explanations (Brown 1978), such as announcing the elements of their talk, and providing explicit transitions to examples, comparisons, or new topics. In our experience, many foreign teaching assistants worry particularly about their pronunciation. While pronunciation is what undergraduates complain about most (Hinofotis and Bailey 1980), there is evidence that other phenomena might be confused with pronunciation (Zukowski/Faust 1984). In the course of the training program, teaching assistants are alerted to techniques used by native English speakers when they teach, techniques that they indeed might use were they teaching in their own languages. The foreign teaching assistants express themselves very parsimoniously, while native speakers of English might use more redundancy, restating ideas in slightly different ways in successive sentences instead of trusting in one simple sentence to do the job. Foreign teaching assistants, as well as many inexperienced teachers, also tend to express themselves casually in the code of their disciplines. By the time of the second, more interactive, videotaped presentation, they have had a chance to practice paraphrasing into ordinary English the symbols, formulas, or abbreviated statements over which they may have earlier glossed.

Videotaped Discussion-leading

Having the opportunity to actually lead a brief discussion and then view themselves is the culminating activity of this sequence. We have experimented with different ways to organize discussions in order to give all the foreign teaching assistants a chance to lead, to allow the discussion to flow, and to keep within reasonable time boundaries (stopping the tape and discussing observations takes considerably longer than the actual taping). One format that works well is for individuals to choose a topic related to one of the two themes of the program, subjects in which everyone has done some reading in the course and has something to offer: teaching and culture.

All the participants are responsible for leading ten minutes of the discussion; they must turn their topics into questions that provoke a response from participants and sustain the discussion. Furthermore, they have an opportunity to use many other skills, such as interrupting another speaker tactfully, changing the subject smoothly, buying time when they are put on the spot, handling silence, reformulating others' statements to test comprehension, re-phrasing a question that gets no response, asking for clarification, asking for examples, balancing different participants' roles in the discussion by drawing out retiring people, and gracefully cutting off long statements. In reviewing the videotape of the discussion, participants consider the responsibilities of a discussion-leader and the mechanics of discussion-leading. They observe how different types of questions facilitate discussion and how successfully they, as leaders and participants in the discussion, integrate the many skills they have been practicing throughout the program.

In summary, the use of videotape in preparing foreign teaching assistants to teach in the United States allows them to observe a wide variety of classroom situations that they might encounter in their own teaching, to observe a number of teaching styles and strategies, to practice teaching their own subject matter, and to gain experience and develop confidence by observing their interactions with others in a classroom setting.

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LOCAL ACCEPTABILITY AS A FACTOR IN SELECTING A MODEL FOR TEACHING ESL: NIGERIAN TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD VARIETIES OF SPOKEN ENGLISH

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Background

Nigeria is one of the most populous countries in West Africa. It is also one of the most linguistically diverse. The total number of its indigenous languages was recently estimated at 394 (Hansford, Bendel-Samuel and Stanford 1976). When Nigeria became one nation, English became the lingua franca: the language of the government, the news media, the public institutions and the elite. It also became a vehicle for inter-ethnic communication and social mobility. RP (Received Pronunciation), the then standard British pronunciation taught in the public schools, was the official model for teaching English in Nigeria and the language was principally taught by native English speakers in small private and missionary schools.

In the last two decades, Nigeria has experienced rapid social, political and economic changes. The indigenous population has increased significantly. So have the standard of living, the rate of social mobility and the rate of urbanization. Public educational institutions have increased in number and the government, in an attempt to educate all citizens from the age of seven, has embarked on a policy of "Universal Primary Education". More indigenous businesses have been established and more Nigerians have been traveling outside the country for education, recreation and business. The percentage of English-speaking Nigerians has increased while, due to the process of decolonization, the percentage of native English speakers has decreased. Since independence a strong sense of nationalism and pride has understandably developed among Nigerians. Such rapid develop-

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ments in a country which is still not industrialized have inevitably led to lower standards in the quality of services provided by both public and private institutions, in which supply cannot keep up with demand. These factors cannot but have serious effects on the public schools. English language programs are experiencing a lack of qualified teachers, adequate facilities and up-to date materials. According to test reports issued by West African Examinations Council (W.A.E.C.), scores of secondary school students on English language exams have been steadily falling.

These changes have influenced the varieties of English being used in Nigeria as well as the popular attitudes toward English as a second language. The increased mobility of Nigerians has exposed them to a greater variety of spoken English accents both within and without the country. The dearth of native English speakers, coupled with a greater need for teachers in the country, has led to more exposure to standard varieties of English in the schools. Local radio and television stations have increased so much in recent years that most mass media broadcasters, the traditional vehicles for proliferation of standard speaking models outside of the schools, no longer use a standard variety of English. National pride has led to the questioning of keeping a foreign tongue such as English as the lingua franca and the motivation to acquire an English accent, particularly the "Queen's" variety, has weakened.

The local English teacher who probably has not acquired a standard variety of spoken English and, in most cases, has no desire to do so, finds it understandably difficult in helping students to acquire one.

Although the impracticality of changing the lingua franca to an indigenous one at present is clearly evident, most educators and linguists agree that some change must be made in the English language policy. Independent research suggests that a number of different varieties of English are spoken in the country but that very few Nigerians speak an intelligible and locally acceptable variety. This has led some educators (Ubahakwe 1979) to predict that, if steps are not taken to improve English language teaching soon, "Nigerian English" will become barely intelligible outside of the country. Various suggestions have been put forth but the official government policy still recognizes English as the lingua franca and requires that it be taught in Nigerian schools beginning in the third grade. Students going to college must pass a written English language exam and public school teachers must pass an oral as well as a written examination. Because of lack of adequate linguistic descriptions of Nigerian English, the oral model for these exams is still RP even though very few Nigerians are exposed to RP or have the motivation to acquire it. As such, many Nigerian educators advocate the use of a standard variety of Nigerian English as a teaching model. They also agree that such a variety needs to be locally acceptable, has to be internationally and locally intelligible, and has to adhere to certain core phonetic features which cut across regional boundaries.

Past Studies on Varieties of Nigerian English

Until recently, however, the existence of a standard variety of Nigerian English was denied by many scholars and there was little attempt to identify or describe one. The general feeling in the country was that varieties of Nigerian English were so regionally influenced by mother tongue interference that they were unintelligible outside of the country and socially unacceptable within the country.

Most studies on Nigerian English in the past have been in the areas of error analysis and contrastive linguistics. Basically pedagogical in purpose, they have attempted to point out the learning problems experienced by Nigerians due to mother tongue interference (see Dunstan 1966 and 1968). Their contribution to the field of variety differentiation has been to identify ethno-geographical varieties of Nigerian English.

Other studies have been mainly theoretical articles based on general observations. These have attempted to classify varieties of Nigerian English according to educational level and social class of the speaker (Adeniran 1979, Banjo 1971, Brosnahan 1958). The most comprehensive article is written by Banjo (1971), in which he postulated four broad varieties of Nigerian English based on proximity to standard British English, international intelligibility and local acceptability. He suggested that one of these varieties, his number three, could be a standard because he felt that it was internationally intelligible, locally acceptable and almost identical to standard British English phonology, its principal distinguishing features being in the area of accent or surface phonetic representations.

In terms of identifying a standard model for teaching English in Nigeria, the problem with most of these studies is that none of the varieties has been linguistically quantified, described and tested for intelligibility or acceptability. The only large scale intelligibility study was done by Tiffen (1974). He tape-recorded the voices of 24 Nigerian university students from two different ethno-geographical regions and played them to 240 British listeners. Although Tiffen's study was carried out ten years ago, it is important because it is the only statistically quantifiable study on the intelligibilty of Nigerian English that has been done to date. Its findings, that the average Nigerian university student of that time was 67% as communicatively effective as a native RP speaker, suggest that most varieties of Nigerian English today may not be internationally intelligible, particularly when it is realized that the percentage of educated Nigerians is low. On the other hand, some of the informants in Tiffen's study were found to be 93% as effective as the RP speaker. This suggests that an internationally intelligible variety of Nigerian English does exist, albeit spoken by a minority.

Two small scale attitudinal studies have been done on Nigerian English. In an attempt to discover preference for accents, the first (Obanya et al. 1979) played tape-recordings of four different speakers reading a passage from a science textbook to prospective teachers at the University of Ibadan. The speakers represented four accents heard in Nigeria: native RP, standard Nigerian (i.e. no obvious regional characteristics) and two regional accents (Igbo and Yoruba) heavily flavored with mother tongue elements. Results indicated that most listeners preferred the regional accent nearest their own and that English teachers preferred either the RP or the standard Nigerian accent.

The second study (Odejide 1980) was based on a questionnaire given to students in an English phonetics class at the same university. It suggested that the students preferred a standard Nigerian accent to a native variety or a marked regional variety.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Research Questions

The present study is part of research being done on the acceptability of local varieties of Nigerian English. Its purpose is to determine whether there is a local variety of Nigerian English which is acceptable as a teaching model to prospective Nigerian primary school teachers of different ethnic groups and to identify some of its characteristics. Unlike previous studies, it is not so much concerned with preference for a particular speaking accent but with acceptability of speech in communication. Its basic assumption is that acceptability is a function of grammatical competency, accent and speech delivery.

Since most Nigerians do not obtain more than a primary school education and since spoken English is taught in all primary schools, it is felt here that a local model for teaching English should be one that is acceptable to primary school teachers. As such, this study has attempted to discuss whether there are Nigerians who use a variety of English which is acceptable to prospective primary school teachers. It has also tried to determine whether such speakers could all be classified as using the same variety of English by virtue of their speech being identified with certain socio-cultural factors by the teacher-listeners, whether there is a relationship between the acceptability of their speech and certain socio-cultural factors which have been suggested in previous articles and whether their speech can be identified with specific mother tongue characteristics. The specific research questions are:

1. Are there Nigerians on the staff of the University of Ibadan who use a variety of English which is acceptable to prospective primary school teachers?

2. If there are such speakers, can their speech be identified by certain common social/situational factors?

3. If there are such speakers, is there a relationship between their acceptability and each of the following factors:
   (a) listeners' ethnic group?
   (b) listeners' sex?
   (c) listeners' perception of speakers' ethnic group?
   (d) listeners' perception of speakers' education level?
   (e) listeners' perception of speakers' economic level?
   (f) listeners' perception of pleasantness of speakers'voice?
   (g) listeners' perception of rate of speakers' speech?
   (h) listeners' perception of interest level of speakers' speech?

4. Can the speech of the acceptable speakers be identified with features of a specific mother tongue?

To find the answers to these questions, voices of the staff members of the University of Ibadan were taped and played to prospective primary school teachers in different parts of southern Nigeria. The teachers were asked to indicate whether they felt that the voices were acceptable as teaching models and also to describe them in terms of certain specific characteristics.

Speaker Sampling

The University of Ibadan is the largest and most established university in Nigeria. Members from its staff were chosen as the sampling population because it was felt that they would be most representative of the different ethnic groups in the country and that they would be most likely to use a variety of speech which would not only be acceptable but which would also fulfill the other criteria for a standard (i.e. intelligibility and phonetic similarity).

A list of the senior academic and administratrive staff of the university was stratified according to ethnic group. Using a table of random numbers, ten members were identified from each group making a total of 50 informants. These fifty had common demographic characteristics: most (45) were between thirty and forty-nine years of age; most (44) were lecturers; most (36) were either in science, social studies or the humanities; most (49) had spent at least one month in a native English-speaking country; most (44) said they used English more than any other language in their daily lives; most (48) resided in a multi-ethnic neighborhood.

Listener Sampling

A total of 434 final year students at three teacher training colleges in southern Nigeria listened to the tapes. This averaged 80 listeners per speaker. The colleges, one co-educational, one male and one female, were all run by the Federal Government and were located in two different ethnic areas of southern Nigeria. These areas were chosen because they were geographically the farthest apart and also represented two of the four largest ethnic groups in the country: the Yoruba of the West and the Efik-Ibibio of the East. The particular schools were chosen because they were centrally located and had populations representative of the different groups within each area. Except for ethnic group (65% Yoruba, 31% Efik-Ibibio) and sex (44.7% male, 54.3% female), the demographic characteristics of the listeners were fairly homogeneous: most (68%) were between twenty and twenty-five years of age; most (97.7%) had never travelled to native English-speaking areas; most (72.3%) had never lived in areas outside of the area where their mother tongue was spoken.

The Acceptability Tests

During the course of 30 minute interviews taped in the informants' offices, each speaker was asked to talk extemporaneously about one of the following subjects: current events, a hobby, a recent experience. Thirty-second excerpts from these monologues were transferred onto master tapes and played to the prospective teachers. Each teacher heard ten of the fifty informants two times. The first time they were asked to answer the question: "Would you accept this speaker as a model for teaching English in Nigeria?" (yes/no). The second time, they heard the same speakers in a different order and were asked to describe each voice by answering multiple choice questions about the following characteristics: ethnic origin, education,income, pleasantness of voice, rate of speech, and interest level. To allow for practice time, each tape was preceded by the voice of a practice speaker.

Administration of the Tests

In each school, students were divided into groups of twenty-five to thirty and each group listened to a different tape. Before beginning the test, each student was asked to fill out a short questionnaire containing demographic data. The students heard the tapes in groups of ten to twenty, depending on acoustic conditions in classrooms in their schools. Before they took the test, they were told what it was about and the concept of finding a teaching model was discussed with them. A cassette battery-operated tape recorder was used and students were seated in a circle as close as possible to the recorder. Each tape began with a practice speaker, after which the recorder was stopped and questions answered about the rest of the test.

Reliability of the Tests

The researcher was particularly concerned with test reliability in terms of consistency of response. For this reason, a preliminary test, based on the test-retest method was done. One of the test tapes was played to twenty first-year college students and the questionnaires were administered to them. The procedure was carried out a week later with the same students. A comparison of the results from the two tests yielded a high .9563907 coefficient of correlation, indicating that the same speakers were likely to be consistently chosen by the same listening population.

Another concern was with control of listening environment. Since the recordings were carrried out in different localities, both the individual taped interviews and the listening rooms varied in one particular area: background noise. As far as listeners were concerned, an attempt was made to rectify this by placing them as close as possible to the recorder and cutting down on the number of listeners in each session.

To determine the amount of influence these factors may have had on the testing, two questions dealing with tape clarity and intensity were added to the listeners' questionnaires.

Results of the Tests

Research Question #1: Are there Nigerians on the staff of the University of Ibadan who speak a variety of English which is acceptable to prospective primary school teachers of different ethnic groups?

Since acceptability was defined as a "yes" answer to the question, "Do you think this speaker would make a good model for teaching English in Nigeria?", the total number of "yes" answers was found for each speaker and, since the number of listeners per speaker varied slightly (the range was from 80-94 with an average of 89), the total number of "yes" answers for a speaker was divided by the number of listeners. This yielded an index of acceptability i.e. the percentage of a given listening population that accepted a speaker.

Before the test was administered, the arbitrary percentile of 60 was chosen as the acceptability threshold for this study. This percentile was chosen because it was high enough to represent a significant majority and low enough to allow for the individual variance in attitude which might be found among untrained listeners not screened for listening competence.

Since this study was trying to identify speakers who are equally acceptable to both Efik-Ibibio and Yoruba listeners and since the number of listeners in each of these groups varied (284 Yorubas,135 Efik-Ibibios), the acceptability index for each speaker was found in each of these groups and only those speakers that were accepted by 60% or more of both groups were admitted as being acceptable across ethnic group lines.

Based on the above factors, 15 (30%) of the speakers were accepted as teaching models.

Research Question #2: Do the listeners identify the speakers with common social and situational characteristics?

For this part of the research, there was a total of 278 listeners (due to time factors in one of the schools, the students were unable to participate), each of whom heard ten of the fifty speakers. Since each of the listeners made one judgment relating to each question about each of the ten speakers, there was a total of 2780 judgments for the group of speakers as a whole. To describe the group as a whole, the judgments under each category for each question were totaled and their percentages of the total number of ratings were found. The resulting percentages represented the judgments given by the listeners to the speakers which they heard. They suggest a socio-situational description of the sampled speakers as a group as perceived by the listeners.

The fifteen acceptable speakers were then taken from the group and the same procedure was followed in order to see whether their description differed from that of the group as a whole. There was a total of 819 judgments for each question relating to this smaller group.

Table 1 gives a summary of the data collected. It suggests that the listeners perceive certain common socio-situational characteristics in the speech samples. A majority (50% or more) of the listeners' judgments characterized the acceptable speakers as being of Nigerian nationality, having a high level of education, speaking with a pleasant voice, speaking at an average rate and speaking in an interesting way. Although there was no majority judgment with respect to ethnic group and income level, more of the judgments characterized the acceptable speakers as being unidentifiable as to ethnic group and of the middle income group.

TABLE 1

Comparison of the social/situational characteristics of the acceptable speech samples with the social/situational characteristics of the group as a whole

Perceived chracteristics	Acceptable Speakers N - 819	All Speakers N - 2780
Income level		
high	28.2	27.1
medium	40.4	36.6
low	4.3	7.4
can't tell	27.1	28.9
Education level		
high	58.1	55.7
medium	27.2	27.8
low	3.8	4.2
can't tell	10.9	12.3
Ethnic group		
Edo	8.8	8.7
Efik-Ibibio	11.8	11.8
Igbo	8.9	9.3
Ijaw	6.8	6
Yoruba	22.2	20.7
can't tell	41.5	43.5
Region		
Southeast	18.3	16.5
South Midwest	16.5	14
Southwest	21.9	22
can't tell	43.3	47.5
Nationality		
Nigerian	78.6	73.3
Non-Nigerian	15.3	18.4
can't tell	6.1	8.3
Delivery		
interest		
interesting	59.9	47.2
boring	13.7	22
neither	26.4	30.8
speed		
too fast	13.4	10.2
too slow	22.6	33.1
neither	26	56.7
pleasantness		
pleasant	55.7	44.9
unpleasant	16.1	24.3
neither	28.2	30.8
Tape recording		
clarity		
clear	63.9	51.4
unclear	15.2	22.6
neither	20.9	26
intensity		
too loud	13.6	12.8
too soft	21.6	25.1
neither	64.8	62.1

N represents total number of responses.
Figures represent percents of the total N.

When the above characteristics are compared to the characteristics of the group as a whole, only slight differences can be seen in many of the categories. With respect to perceived social characteristics, the acceptable speakers were judged as being of a slightly higher educational level and a slightly higher level of income. They were also judged as being slightly more identifiable as to ethnic group and as having slightly more Nigerian characteristics than the group as a whole. Greater differences were observed in the listeners' reactions to characteristics of delivery and situational factors. In general, the group of acceptable speakers was judged to have better delivery than the speech samples as a whole. More were judged as having pleasant voices; more were judged as speaking at rates that were neither too fast nor too slow; more were judged as speaking in an interesting way.

Research Question #3: Is there a relationship between the acceptability of these speakers and certain socio-situational factors?

To answer this question, the listeners were grouped according to the factors being examined, using their answers to the yes/no question, the multiple choice questionnaire and the socio-cultural data. The number of positive or "yes" answers given in the acceptability test was computed for each group. The different groups under each characteristic were then related using the chi-square test for significance and Phi or Cramer's V for strength of relationship (Blalock 1960).

Tables 2 and 3 summarize the statistics used to explore the relationships between acceptability and socio-situational factors. No significant relationship was found between acceptability and listeners' ethnic group and sex. Significant relationships were found between listeners' perceptions of speakers' level of income, level of education, ethnic group, nationality, pleasantness of voice, rate of spceech and interest level of speech.

The relationships established under each of the following categories varied as to degree. If values of V are averaged for each of the three general categories under listeners' perception, the factors examined under speech delivery have the strongest relationship to acceptability, followed by features of the tape recordings and lastly, factors under speaker's socio-geographical background.

TABLE 2
Relationship between acceptability and characteristics in listeners background

Listeners' background	X^2	Critical value at .05
Ethnic group	.3275	3.841
Sex	.2941	3.841

TABLE 3
Relationship between acceptability and listener's perceptions

Listener's perceptions	χ^2	Critical value at .05	V	Average V
Speakers' Background				
Income	42.7197	7.815	.124	.13908
Education	107.1916	7.815	.1964	
Ethnic group	26.2718	11.070	.0972	
Nationality	99.946	5.991	.1896	
Region	21.6062	7.815	.0882	
Speech Delivery				
Rate	23.556	5.991	.092	.1815
Pleasantness	140.596	5.991	.225	
Interest	143.9775	5.991	.2276	
External Factors				
Clarity	142.098	5.991	.266	.1475
Intensity	13.097	5.991	.69	

A ranked comparison of each factor examined under the three general categories (table 4) shows that the strongest relationship was between acceptability and interest level of speech and that the weakest was between acceptability and intensity of speech.

TABLE 4
Ranked comparison of the relationship between perceptions of listeners and acceptability based on values of V

Perceived characteristic	V
Interest level	.2276
Tape clarity	.2260
Pleasantness	.2250
Educational level	.1964
Nationality	.1896
Income level	.1240
Ethnic group	.0972
Rate of speech	.0920
Region	.0882
Tape intensity	.0690

It is important to note that the values of V are all fairly low. This indicates that none of the established relationships were very strong when considered individually.

Research Question #4: Can the speech of the acceptable speakers be identified as to specific mother tongue interference?

Although detailed phonetic description might indicate features from particular indigenous languages in the speech samples, this study was mainly concerned with impressionistic perceptions of listeners from the language community. In order to ensure that such listeners had been exposed to different varieties of English, eighty University of Ibadan students enrolled in an English language course which dealt with variety differentiation listened to the tapes and tried to determine the ethnic origin of the speakers.

Table 5 shows the number of students that were able to identify the ethnic group and their percent out of the total number of listeners. It indicates that, except for three speakers, 70% or more of the listeners were unable to identify the speaker's ethnic group.

TABLE 5
Percent of listeners who were able to identify the ethnic group of speaker

Speaker	Number of listeners	Percent N = 80
1	72	90
2	59	73.8
3	25	31.3
4	8	10
5	11	14
6	7	.9
7	6	.8
8	8	10
9	3	4
10	4	5
11	14	18
12	4	5
13	43	54
14	12	15
15	13	16

Impressionistic observations indicate that the speech of the fifteen acceptable speakers is almost identical to that of standard British English in terms of grammar and vocabulary. In the area of phonology, the speakers appear to use the same basic system as standard British English but differ with respect to certain phonetic features, most particularly the centralizing diphthongs, patterns of pitch, and rhythm.

Conclusions and Implications

Much more research needs to be done in order to define a local model for use in teaching English in Nigeria. Detailed phonetic analysis must be carried out in order to more accurately describe the speech of acceptable speakers. Acceptable speakers need to be tested for intelligibility and wider speaker and listener sampling needs to be done in order to determine whether the same speakers are acceptable to other socio-economic groups and whether speakers from other socio-economic groups are acceptable. More controlled speaker selection is also necessary in order to cut down on the number of variables that might influence acceptability and the terminology and type of questions used in this study need to be refined.

Nevertheless, with respect to the identification of a variety of Nigerian English which might be used as a teaching model in the country, this study has some interesting implications. It has shown, first of all, that there are Nigerians of different ethnic groups who speak a variety of English which is acceptable to other Nigerians of different ethnic groups. This belies one of the commonly held opinions that varieties of Nigerian English are so heavily influenced by the mother tongue that they are not acceptable outside of the immediate locality.

Secondly, it was suggested that there are Nigerians of different ethnic groups who speak a type of English in an interview situation which can be classified as one variety of Nigerian English because it is identified with certain features which appear to cut across ethno-regional lines by the language community.

Thirdly, it was suggested that there is a variety of Nigerian English which may be standard in terms of phonetic features because the majority of its speakers cannot be identified as having particular ethnic traits in their speech by other members of the language community and, on the basis of impressionistic linguistic description, its speakers use the same grammar and vocabulary as native speakers of standard English and appear to approximate the phonology of standard British English in many respects. Although the variety still needs to be tested for intelligibility and more phonetic analysis needs to be done, this lends credence to Banjo's (1971) contention that there is a standard Nigerian English which could serve as a model for English teaching.

This study has also suggested that there are connections between acceptability and other socio-situational factors in Nigerian culture. Disagreeing with Obanya's findings mentioned earlier (Obanya 1979), it suggests that listeners' ethnic group and sex may not always be significantly related to acceptability. Instead, its findings indicate that listeners' perceptions of certain features associated with education, economic standing and ethno-geographic procedence might be more significantly related to acceptability and that factors related to speech delivery may be even more strongly related.

The fact that three of the acceptable speakers could be identified as to ethnic origin by more than 50% of the listeners, however, suggests that an acceptable variety of Nigerian English may not necessarily be one that is entirely devoid of particular mother tongue interference. The findings suggest, in fact, that more significantly related to acceptability than any of the other factors is speaker's delivery, particularly the pleasantness of his voice and the interest level of his speech.

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